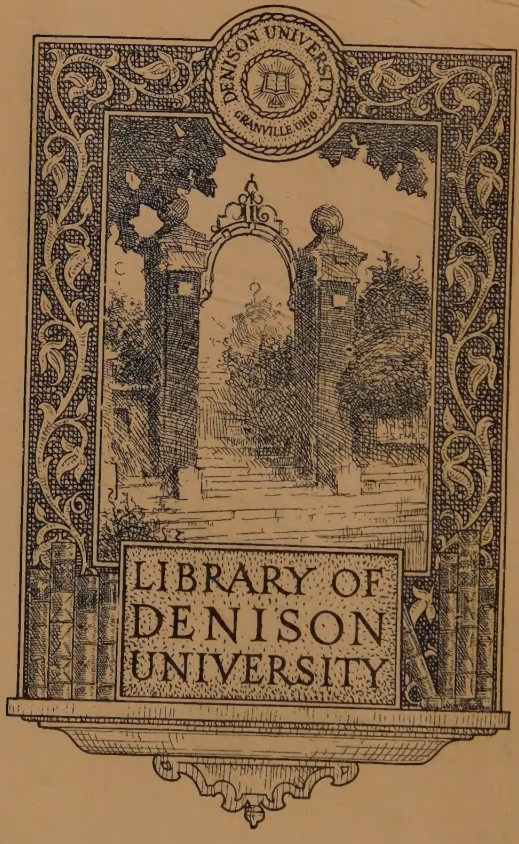

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FROM AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

Biographical and Historical Memoirs

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS.

BY EDMUND LODGE, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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Engraved by W. Holl.

HENRY GREY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

OB. 1554.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, OF MARK GERARD, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

Published [illegible] by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

HENRY GREY,

DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

This nobleman, who, by an inversion which rarely occurs in the history of a family, derived all his public importance from his offspring, was the eldest son and heir of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, in Kent, and relict of William Medley. The antiquity and splendour of his name and descent are so well known that it is unnecessary to speak of them: of his character and conduct, considering him individually, and as a free agent, we have scarcely any intelligence. "He was a man," says Sir John Hayward, in his Life of Edward the Sixth, "for his harmless simplicity, neither misliked nor much regarded:" but he was the father of that distinguished example of universal excellence, Jane Grey, and it is chiefly on that ground that his memory can found any claim to historical recollection.

He had been at an early age contracted by his father to Catherine, eldest daughter to William Fizalan, Earl of Arundel, whose heir and successor, Henry, Lord Maltravers, was at the same time espoused to his sister, the Lady Catherine Grey. The Marquis's marriage proved fruitless, and the vanity of forming an alliance with royalty suggested to him, soon after the death of his father, which happened in 1530, the iniquitous expedient of repudiating his innocent wife. The Lady Frances Brandon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, sister to Henry the Eighth, encouraged his addresses; and, as

that despot approved of their union, it is almost needless to say that the divorce was accomplished without difficulty. He married Frances Brandon, and had by her three daughters, of whom Jane was the first-born.

He had been admitted into the number of the early companions and intimates of Henry, and is said to have been brave and generous; perhaps in other words daring in tournaments, and careless of expense in his equipments for them, and for other gorgeous gallantries of the court. He left it however soon after his second marriage, and retired unambitiously to his great estates, where he remained for many years in a magnificent privacy, occupied in the usual sports and hospitalities of the country, and in the indulgence, as we are told by one author, of some taste for letters; a report which derives additional credit from the extensively learned education bestowed on his children, so remarkably exemplified in that of Jane. The circumstances which withdrew him from this honourable and happy retirement have been so fully stated in a sketch of the life of that lady, already given in this work, that it would be impertinent here to do much more than refer to them, and his own subsequent story will present little more than the barren detail of the conduct of a mere instrument in the hands of another. It will be seen there that Dudley, having pulled down his great antagonist the Protector Somerset, and gained possession of the person and mind of the youthful and declining Edward, conceived the extravagant idea of availing himself of Dorset's royal marriage as a means to seize on the crown. When in 1551 he procured for himself the Dukedom of Northumberland, he obtained for the Marquis that of Suffolk, and used all other artifices to attach him to his interest. Suffolk however was not yet gained over, for when, at the close of the same year, the Protector was tried by his Peers on charges of high treason, the most material of which was an alleged design to kill Dudley, after the trial, "the Lords," to use again the words of Hayward, "went together, and first the Duke of Suffolk nobly said that he held it not reasonable that, this being but a conten-

tion between private subjects, under pretension thereof any mean action should be drawn to intention of treason." Northumberland carefully concealed the vexation which he suffered from this opposition; Suffolk was presently gratified with the office of Justice in Eyre of all the King's Forests; and soon after appointed Lord Warden of the east, west, and middle Marches towards Scotland.

It was about this time that Northumberland proposed to him the marriage of his third son, Lord Guildford Dudley, with the ill-fated Jane, and met with a ready acquiescence. Edward, who was evidently sinking under an incurable malady, was prevailed on to nominate her as his successor to the crown, which only the earnest solicitations of her family induced her most unwillingly to accept. In the mean time the vigilance of Mary's friends, and the sudden defection of several of the most powerful of Northumberland's party, left Suffolk barely time for the empty ceremonies of swearing allegiance, and doing homage, to the ephemeral regality of his daughter. He feebly affected for a few days to direct the measures of her government, while his more guilty coadjutor marched, at the head of an army, to meet the adherents of Mary in the field, but to submit to them with the most abject meanness. Suffolk, on receiving the news, followed his example in London, and having first stripped his daughter of the ensigns of royalty, joined the Privy Council, which had declared for Mary, in their expressions of loyalty to her. This artifice however, if such it may deserve to be called, proved too shallow. He was arrested, and sent to the Tower, where Jane and her husband were already imprisoned; and after a short confinement, was released without trial or penalty, for reasons which historians have in vain endeavoured to discover.

The fate of his family at this period rested on the prudence of his conduct. Justice, and even vengeance, if it was entertained in the bosom of Mary, had been satisfied by the sacrifice of Northumberland, and of several of his associates. The rigours of the imprisonment of Jane and Guildford Dudley had been

gradually relaxed, and the execution of their sentence of death more than once formally respited. Mary was known to have betrayed an inclination to spare them. In this critical hour, when a mere passiveness on his part seemed to promise the happiest effects, Suffolk, without men, without money, without any apparent object, not only rushed wildly, with two of his brothers, into Sir Thomas Wyat's rebellion, but on his way to the quarters of the insurgents, again proclaimed his daughter Queen in the towns through which he passed. A new scene of blood was now opened. Jane and her husband were presently led to the scaffold, and the Duke, who seems not to have reached his destination, was betrayed by one of his servants to the Earl of Huntingdon, who had been sent to arrest him at the head of a strong body of horse. He was brought by that nobleman to London on the eleventh of February, 1554, and lodged in the Tower, and on the twenty-third of the same month was beheaded.

It has been already observed that this Duke had, in addition to Jane, two younger daughters; they were Catherine, wife first of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, from whom she was divorced, and secondly of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; and Mary, most meanly married to Martin Keys, groom porter at the court.

JOHN RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1555.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

d Dec.r 1826, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN RUSSELL,

FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD.

We have here the founder of that immense fortune, and the first bearer of most of those exalted dignities, which still distinguish his posterity. He sprung however from no mean origin. His ancestors had been for nearly four centuries in the first rank of English gentry, holding of the Crown, in the county of Dorset, a Baronial estate, which, on the failure of the elder line of the family, devolved on that from which he descended. Several of them had held municipal appointments of considerable trust and honour; others had sat in the House of Commons; and his grandfather, Sir John Russell, filled the office of Speaker early in the reign of Henry the Sixth. He was the eldest son of James Russell, of Kingston, the estate above alluded to (son and heir of that Sir John) by his first wife, Alice, daughter and heir of John Wyse, a gentleman of that county.

He owed his introduction at the court of Henry the Seventh to a mere accident. Philip, Archduke of Austria, and King of Castile, say our historians, having been shipwrecked in January 1505, at Weymouth, whither he was driven by a great storm, on his passage from Flanders to Spain, was entertained by Sir Thomas Trenchard, one of the chief persons of that part of Dorsetshire, in whose house he lived splendidly, till Henry had received the news of his arrival, and invited him to the Court. It chanced that Sir Thomas sent for his cousin, Mr. Russell, then lately returned from his travels, with great fame, as Dugdale

informs us, for his skill in foreign languages, to wait on the royal stranger, who was so much pleased by the conversation of his visiter, that he took the young man in his company to Windsor; recommended him strongly to Henry; and thus opened the way to his future fortune. It should seem, however, from certain historical circumstances which it is needless to state here, that the hospitable entertainment of the Austrian prince in Dorsetshire was in reality nothing less than an honourable captivity; that Trenchard might be considered rather as his gaoler than his host; and that Russell was appointed to watch him on the way to London, and to deliver his person safely to the King, a service very likely to please a Prince of Henry's character. Whether these conjectures be well or ill founded, it is certain that Mr. Russell made his first appearance at Court on that occasion, and that the King immediately appointed him a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and distinguished him from his fellows by a more than ordinary degree of kindness.

Henry the Eighth, who succeeded to the throne about four years after this event, received him with increased favour. They were about the same age, and Russell possessed most of the qualities which usually attracted, however seldom they might secure, that Prince's favourable notice—a sedate and clear understanding; a courageous heart; and a learned education, finished and polished by foreign travel. We find him in that remarkable selection of youthful gallantry made by the King in 1513, to grace his invasion of France, where during the siege of Theroüenne, Russell, with two hundred and fifty men, recovered a piece of ordnance from ten thousand French, under the command of one of their ablest generals; and afterwards, with singular bravery, cut off a large supply of provisions which the enemy had sent towards the town. The latter of these services was so eminently distinguished, that our old chronicles have affected to preserve the very terms of a dialogue on it, between him and the King, who, when he saw him after his return from performing it, believed that he had not yet set out. "I," cried Henry, "while

we are fooling the town is relieved." "So it is indeed," answered the other, "for I have sent them two thousand carcases, and they have spared me twelve hundred waggons of provision." "I, but," said the King, "I sent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban." "That," replied Russell, "was the first thing I did; wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesty's grace and pardon." "Nay then," concluded the King, "by'r Lady thou hast not my pardon only, but my favour too." He was not less active at the siege of Tournay; was one of Henry's commissioners in 1518 for the restoration of that strong city to France; and in 1522, sailed again to the French coast, in that expedition which was commanded by the Earl of Surrey as Admiral, when he received knighthood from that Nobleman for his good service at the sacking of Morlaix.

In 1523 he was first invested with the ministerial character; sent Ambassador to Rome, and from thence, with great secrecy, even, says Lord Herbert, "in disguised habit," to Charles Duke of Bourbon, to foment the difference then subsisting between that Prince and the King of France. He prevailed on the Duke to join openly the alliance between Henry and the Emperor, and was personally engaged in most of the warlike enterprises which followed that junction. In 1525 he fought at the celebrated battle of Pavia; in 1532 attended Henry at his interview with Francis the First; and in 1536 was named, with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Francis Bryan, to sit in judgment on the Lincolnshire insurgents. On his return from that employment he was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and, towards the end of the same year, was sworn of the Privy Council.

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1538, he was created Baron Russell, of Cheneys, in the county of Buckingham, an estate which he had acquired by his wife; and in 1540, on the dissolution of the greater monasteries, became enriched beyond all precedent, by grants from their spoil, particularly in Devonshire, where he obtained, together with the borough and town of Tavistock, the entire demesne of its very rich abbey, comprising nearly thirty

manors, with many large estates in other parts of the county, as well as in those of Bucks and Somerset. In 1541 he was constituted Lord Admiral of England and Ireland, and President of the counties of Devon, Dorset, Cornwall, and Somerset; and, in the conclusion of that year, on some occasion of difference between his master and Francis the First, was sent with a military force into Picardy. On the third of December, 1543, the custody of the Privy Seal was committed to him; and in 1545, when Henry attacked Boulogne in person, he commanded the vanguard of the besieging army. The King, who died in the succeeding year, appointed him one of the sixteen executors to his will, who formed a Council of Regency for the administration of affairs during the minority of Edward the Sixth.

At the Coronation of that Prince he exercised the venerable and dignified office of Lord High Steward of England, and soon after received from the Crown a grant of the great estates of the dissolved monastery of Woburn, in Bedfordshire, which has since become the chief residence of his heirs. A formidable insurrection in the western counties, in 1549, against the measures of the reformation, which were then pursued with the utmost vigour, called him again into military service. In his character of Governor of those provinces he patiently endeavoured by every possible exertion of the civil authority to restore order, and, finding all such efforts ineffectual, placed himself at the head of the best armed force that he could muster, and attacked the insurgents with very inferior numbers. Of the straits to which he was frequently reduced, and the dangers to which he was exposed, in this unequal warfare; the judgment and bravery with which he extricated himself from them; and his final complete success; a very lengthened and particular account, still highly interesting to those who inhabit that part of the island, may be found in Hollinshed's Chronicle, and there only. It was an eminent public service, and he was rewarded accordingly; for on the nineteenth of January, 1549, O. S., he was created Earl of Bedford.

During his absence in the West commenced the attack on the Protector Somerset, which, though for a while suspended, terminated two years after in the tragical death of that great person. A large body of the Peers, prevailed on through the artifices of Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, had combined against the Protector, and shewn themselves in open insurrection. He solicited the support of those whom he esteemed his friends, and of those who had remained neutral. A letter from the Protector, probably circular, to the Earl of Bedford, together with two from the Earl in answer, have been preserved also by Hollinshed.

"After our right hartie commendations," says the Duke, "to your good Lordship, Here hath of late risen such a conspiracie against the King's Majestie and us as never hath béene séene, the which they can not mainteine, with such vaine letters, and false tales surmised, as was never ment or intended on us. They pretend and saie that we have sold Bullonge to the French, and that we doo withhold wages from the soldiers, and other such tales and letters they doo spread abroad, (of the which if anie one thing were true we would not wish to live,) the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremitie, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, especiallie of those men, towards the King's Majestie and us, of whome we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and praie you to hasten you hither to the defense of the King's Majestie, in such force and power as you maie, to shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie friend; the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the King's Majestie, in time to come, and we shall be never unmindfull of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them, but, as ye tender your dutie to the King's Majestie, we require you to make no staie, but immediatelie repaire, with such force as ye have, to his Highnesse, in his castell of Windsor, and the rest of such force as ye maie make to follow you. And so we bid

you right hartilie farewell. From Hampton Court, the sixt of October.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

"Edward Summerset."

"To this letter," continues Hollinshed, "of the Lord Protector's, sent the sixt of October, the Lord Russell, returning answer againe vpon the eight of the said moneth, first lamented the heavie dissention fallen betweene the Nobilitie and him, which he tooke for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almightie God vpon this realme, being the next waie, said he, to make us of conquerors slaves; and like to induce upon the whole realme an universall thraldome and calamitie, vnless the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord doo help, and some wise order be taken, in staieng these great extremities. And, as touching the Duke's request in his letters; for as much as he had heard before of the broile of the Lords, and feared least some conspiracie had beene meant against the King's person, he hasted forward, with such companie as he could make, for the suertie of the King, as to him appteined. Now, perceiving by the Lords' letters sent unto him the same sixt daie of October, these tumults to rise vpon privat causes betweene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient that convenient power should be levied, to be in a readinesse to withstand the woorst, what perils soever might issue, for the preservation both of the King and State of the realme from invasion of forren enemies, and also for the staieng of bloudshed, if anie such thing should be intended betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for the discharge of his allegiance, humblie besought his Grace to have the same also in speciall regard and consideration; first, that the King's Maiestie be put in no feare; and that if there be anie such thing wherein he hath given iust cause to them thus to proceed, he would so conforme himselfe as no such privat quarrels doo redound to the publike disturbance of the realme; certifieng moreover the Duke that, if it were true, which he understood by

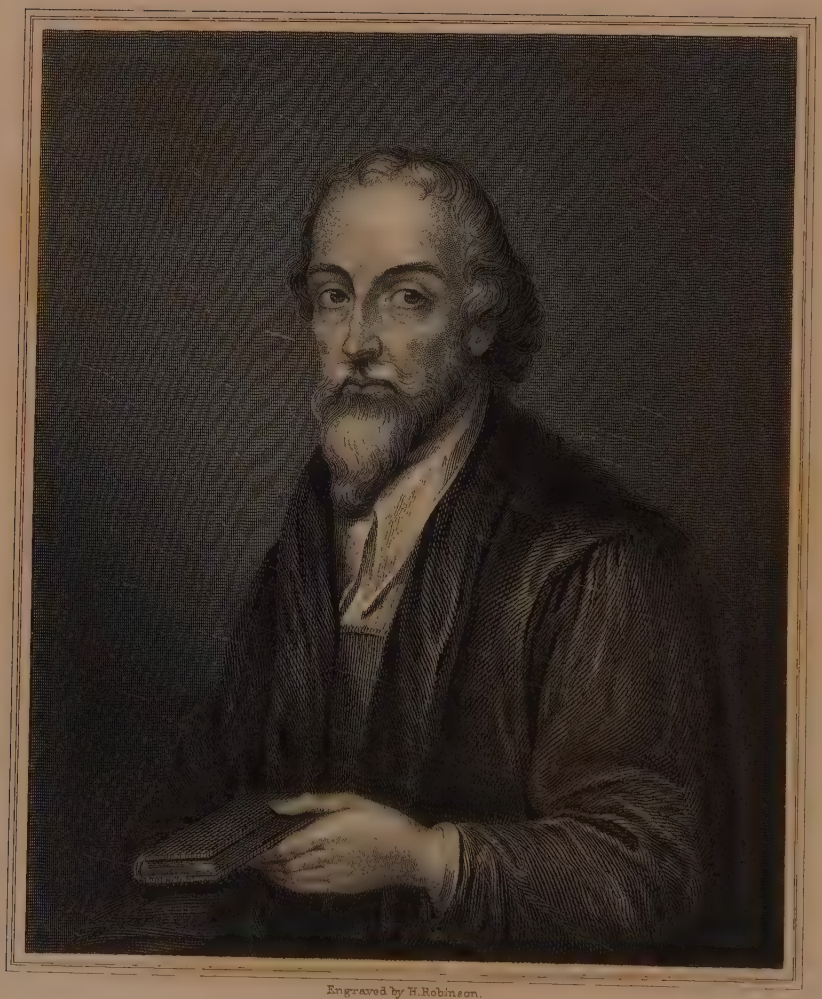
the letters of the Lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising up of the commons, he liked not the same; notwithstanding he trusted well that his wisdome would take such a waie as no effusion of bloud should follow."

"And thus much being conteined in his former letters the eight of October, in his next letters againe, written the eleventh of October, the said Lord Russell, rejoising to heare of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protector made to the Lords, wrote vnto him, and promised to doo what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Herbert, joined togither with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betweene him and them; so as, his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might issue, according to their good hope and expectation; signifieng, moreover, that, as touching the levieng of men, they had resolved to have the same in readinesse for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconveniences whatsoever, that either by forren invasion or otherwise might happen: and so, having their power at hand to draw neere, whereby they might have the better opportunitie to be solicitors and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the Lord Russell to the Lord Protector's letter."

These answers savour more of the caution of a politician than of the cordiality of a friend, or even the complaisance of a courtier. They were written, however, in a moment of great doubt and difficulty. The Earl seems, for no other intelligence remains of his conduct amidst that terrible contention, to have steered, probably with equal honesty and wisdom, an even course between the two parties. Certain it is that the downfall of Somerset neither increased nor diminished the favour in which he had been long held. During the greatest violence of the struggle it was his good fortune to be sent, with Lord Paget, Sir William Petre, and Sir John Mason, to treat of a peace with France, which was concluded at Guisnes, nearly at the same time when the flames of the faction at home were quenched by the blood of the Pro-

tector. He did not long survive the accession of Mary. His last public service was in an embassy of ceremony to Philip of Spain, whom he escorted in 1554 from Corunna to London, and introduced to that Princess as a bridegroom. He died at his house in the Strand, London, on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, and was buried at Cheneys, leaving by his Countess, Anne, daughter and sole heir to Sir Guy Sapcote, and widow of Sir Thomas Broughton, of Tudington, in Bedfordshire, an only child, Francis, his worthy and magnificent successor.

History affords us little on which to found a judgment of the first Earl of Bedford's character. His friends have neglected to transmit to posterity an account of those merits which could challenge so vast an extent of royal favour: his enemies too have been silent as to faults, which their envy of that favour might naturally have led them to record. The detail of his services here given, is sufficient to assure us that he possessed no mean abilities, and if the conduct of such a man has escaped detraction, it justly demands our good opinion. The mighty Edmund Burke, it is true, with that magical eloquence which could almost immortalise or annihilate the characters of those whom he favoured or disliked, but with the doubtful justice which always attends effusions of anger, levelled a general censure at the memory of this nobleman, to avenge an offence offered by his heir nearly three centuries after his death. If history could have furnished a single accusation against him, that memorable philippic would certainly have recorded it; but it charges him only with having received great rewards, and barely insinuates that he might not have deserved them.



Engraved by W. Robinson.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

OB. 1555.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE REVEREND HENRY RIDLEY, D.D.

PROOF

London, Published Jan.y 1. 1821, by Harding & Leopard, Pall Mall East

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON.

This exemplary divine was no otherwise distinguished from his fellow labourers in the Reformation, than by a piety perhaps more humble and sincere, and a zeal more fervid. He seemed to have been born, as well as educated, for the ecclesiastical profession, and possessed every qualification to adorn, if the expression may be allowed, as well as to serve a church. He had however the misfortune to live at a period when the clergy of his country had no alternative but to abjure the faith in which they had been bred, or to retire into obscurity and poverty; and he hesitated not to adopt the former course. Certainly the history of those frightful times cannot furnish an example of a purer or more consistent proselyte; yet it is difficult to imagine views merely spiritual in the conversion of the catholic chaplain of a protestant Primate to the reilgious profession of his lord.

Little is known of Ridley's parentage. A collateral kinsman, of his surname, who several years since took great pains to collect all that had been related of him, could only inform us that his father was a third son of an ancient family, seated at Willimondswike, in Northumberland, and descended from a long series of knights, and it is well known that the name still flourishes in great respectability in that province. We learn however, from the same authority, that he had two uncles, Lancelot, an elder, and Robert, a younger, brother of his father, both clergymen of some distinction, and that the latter took on himself to provide for the education of the young Nicholas. This engagement was

strictly performed, for, after having been well grounded at the always respectable school of Newcastle on Tyne, he was removed to Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, and went a few years after to complete his studies at the Sorbonne, and afterwards at the celebrated university of Louvain.

He had however in the mean time taken his degrees, in 1522 of Bachelor, and in 1524 of Master, of Arts, and had already established at Cambridge a considerable reputation for a critical skill in the learned languages, particularly the Greek, and was not less esteemed as a deeply read theologian, and an acute disputant. He returned from Louvain to his college in 1529, having added to those qualifications during his absence what was then esteemed the perfection of pulpit argument and eloquence. He became the favourite preacher; was chosen in 1533 senior proctor; and, in the following year, University orator and chaplain. It was at this time that Henry required the two Universities to examine the Scriptures on the grand question of the Pope's supremacy. Their report to the King is well known. Ridley not only went with the stream, but argued against the Papal claim with equal warmth and ingenuity, and it is probable that he then betrayed a leaning towards the new doctrines in spiritual matters, for he was soon after invited by Cranmer to reside in his house, as one of his domestic chaplains, and in the spring of 1538 the Archbishop gave him the Vicarage of Herne, in Kent. In the succeeding year, on the passing of the act of the Six Articles, he had the boldness to preach publicly against that tremendous statute, to the most remarkable provision of which, the prohibition of marriage to the clergy, his patron was known to have rendered himself obnoxious. His gradual abandonment of the Church of Rome it must be confessed now attended the steps of Cranmer's defection with a singular regularity, and his preferment advanced in the same measure. In 1540 he was appointed a chaplain to the King; in the next year a prebendary of Canterbury; and in 1545 obtained a stall in the Church of Westminster.

In the mean time those of the old Church, justly alarmed by his popularity as a preacher, made various efforts to silence him. In 1541 his brother prebendaries of Canterbury exhibited a complaint against him at the Archbishop's visitation, for having impugned the law of the Six Articles, and afterwards accused him at the Quarter Sessions for Kent, of directing that the Te Deum should be sung in English in his Church of Herne, and of preaching against auricular confession. These charges were at length brought, probably on the suggestion of Cranmer, before the Privy Council, when the King referred them to the decision of that Prelate, by whom they were presently quashed. It was not however till shortly before the death of Henry that Ridley completely embraced the Protestant faith. He had not yet rejected transubstantiation; and it is remarkable that in this last article of his conversion he once more accompanied Cranmer. We are told indeed by Fox, and others, that he employed nearly the whole of the year 1545 in reading and reflecting on this celebrated tenet, in utter retirement at his Vicarage; and Cranmer, in the preface to his treatise on the Sacrament, ascribes his own renunciation to the effect of his chaplain's arguments. At all events, this change in their profession may be said to have been simultaneous.

The doubts and fears of the reformers having been removed by the death of the capricious tyrant, Ridley gave the reins to his zeal and his eloquence. He presently gained the esteem of the young Edward, already a judge and a patron of merit. The fellows of Pembroke Hall, of which he had now been for some time master, having given him a living in the diocese of Norwich, the presentation to which was claimed by the Bishop, he was admitted to it by the express command of the King; and on the fourth of September, 1547, was promoted to the see of Rochester. In the succeeding year he was one of the divines to whom was intrusted the great task of composing the common prayer, and was soon after joined in commission with Cranmer and others for the correction of the schism of the Anabaptists, and the removal

of other excrescences which had already deformed the new system of faith. In the execution of this latter office he unhappily made himself a party in some horrible acts of persecution, the most remarkable of which were the proceedings against Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, and a Dutchman, named Paris, who were burned alive, the one for denying the humanity, the other the divinity, of Christ. In the same year, 1539, he presided in a public disputation at Cambridge on the subject of the Sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the result was a decision against transubstantiation, for the purpose of obtaining which the conference had in fact been held.

Towards the close of the same year Bonner, Bishop of London, was deprived, and Ridley, who had been one of the commissioners by whose sentence he was ejected, was appointed to succeed him; and here a most amiable light is thrown on Ridley's character by the accidental preservation of some of those minute circumstances which make us better acquainted with men's characters than whole volumes of the most honest biography —"He took care," says my authority, "to preserve from injury the goods, &c. belonging to Bonner, allowing him full liberty to remove them when he pleased. Such materials as Bonner had purchased for the repair of his house and church, the new Bishop employed to the uses for which they were designed, but he repaid him the money which he had advanced for them. He took upon himself the discharge of the sums which were due to Bonner's servants for liveries and wages; and that the mother and sister of that prelate, who lived near the palace at Fulham, might not be losers in consequence of his own promotion, he always sent for them to dinner and supper, constantly placing Mrs. Bonner at the head of the table, even when persons of high rank were his guests; often saying 'By your Lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner;' as if he had succeeded to the relation as well as office of her son." These small notices are the more valuable, because very little has been transmitted to us as to his private character. I have met with

scarcely any thing of that sort on which we may safely rely, except in a letter from William Turner (physician to the Protector Somerset, and who had been Ridley's fellow collegian) to Fox, who seems to have applied to him for personal matter of Ridley to insert in his Martyrology. Turner, after extolling him as a disputant and a scholar, enlarges, in the strongest terms, on his charitable disposition; the sweetness of his temper and manners, and the warmth of his attachments; and instances his friendship for Edmund Grindal, afterwards Primate, whom Turner calls his "Fidus Achates."

The first steps indeed of Grindal's progress to supreme dignity in the English Church were made under his guidance and patronage. This is in some measure proved by an original letter from Ridley to Sir John Cheke, which remains in the library of Emanuel College, and which it will not be impertinent to insert here, as a specimen of Ridley's energetic style—

Master Cheke,

I wish you grace and peace. Sir, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in his name, I beseech you of your pain and furtherance towards men of God's word. I did talk with you of late what case I was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the good will and grant to be with me of three preachers, men of good learning, and, as I am persuaded, of excellent virtue, which are all able, both with life and learning, to set forth God's word in London, and in the whole diocese of the same, where is most need, of all parts of England, for thence goeth example, as you know, into all the rest of the King's Majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these: Master Grindal, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning. Master Bradford, a man by whom I am assuredly informed God hath and doth work wonders in setting forth of his word. The third is a preacher the which, for detecting and confuting the Anabaptists and Papists in Essex, both by his preaching and writing, is now enforced to bear Christ's cross. The two first be scholars in the University: the

third as poor as either of the other twain. Now there is fallen a Prebend in Paul's, called Cantrell's, by the death of one Leyton. This Prebend is an honest man's living of XXXIV. pounds, and better, in the King's books. I would give it with all my heart to Mr. Grindall, and so I should have him continually with me. The Council hath written to me to stop the collation, and say The King's Majesty hath determined it unto the furniture of his stable. Alas, Sir, this is an heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak, for God's sake, for God's cause, unto whomsoever you may do any good withall; and, if you will not speak, then I beseech you let this my letter speak.

From Fulham, this present, the XXIIIIth. day of July, 1561.

Your's in Christ,

NIC. LONDON.

Ridley's promotion to the See of London seemed to reinvigorate the activity of his zeal. He presently made a diocesan visitation, in which he caused the altars in all the churches to be demolished, and replaced by the simple tables still in use. He was now appointed by the Privy Council, jointly with Cranmer, to compose a regular code of the Protestant faith, which having comprised in forty-two articles, it was sanctioned by the King in Council, and published under the royal authority. Having perhaps imbibed some portion of vanity from the praise which he had been so long used to receive for the acuteness and eloquence of his argumentation, he determined about this time to apply them towards the conversion of the Princess Mary, and with that view waited on her, at her residence at Hunsdon House. The narration of what passed in that visit, at least as creditable to the Princess as to the Bishop, is too curious to be here omitted, and I give it nearly in the very words of Fox.

"Her Highness received him in the presence chamber; thanked him for his civility, and entertained him with very pleasant discourse for a quarter of an hour; said she remembered him at Court, when chaplain to her father, and mentioned particularly

a sermon of his before her father, at the marriage of Lady Clinton, that now is, to Sir Anthony Browne; and then, leaving the presence chamber, she dismissed him to dine with her servants. After dinner she sent for him again, when the Bishop in conversation told her that he did not only come to pay his duty to her Grace by waiting on her, but, further, to offer his service to preach before her the next Sunday, if she would be pleased to admit him. Her countenance changed at this, and she continued for some time silent. At last she said, 'I pray you, my Lord, make the answer to this yourself.' The Bishop proceeding to tell her that his office and duty obliged him to make this offer, she again desired him to make the answer to it himself, for that he could not but know what it would be; yet, if the answer must come from her, she told him that the doors of the parish church should be open for him if he came, and that he might preach if he pleased, but that neither would she hear him, nor allow any of her servants to do it.

"'Madam,' said the Bishop, 'I trust you will not refuse God's word.' 'I cannot tell,' said she, 'what you call God's word: that is not God's word now that was God's word in my father's days.' The Bishop observed that God's word was all one at all times, but had been better understood and practised in some ages than others: upon which she could contain no longer, but told him—'You durst not for your ears have preached that in my father's days that now you do;' and then, to shew how able she was in this controversy, she added—'As for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them: I never did, and never will.' She then broke out into many bitter expressions against the form of religion at present established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in her brother's minority, which she said she was not bound to obey till the King came of perfect age, and when he was so, she would obey them; and then asked the Bishop if he was one of the Council; and, on his answering no, 'You might well enough,' said she, 'as the Council goes now-a-days;' and parted from him with these words: 'My Lord, for

your civility in coming to see me I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me I thank you not a whit.' After this, the Bishop was conducted to the room where he had dined, where Sir Thomas Wharton gave him a glass of wine, which when he had drank he seemed confounded, and said, 'Surely I have done amiss;' and being asked how, he reproached himself for having drank in that place where God's word had been refused; 'whereas,' said he, 'if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken the dust from my feet, as a testimony against this house.'" Even if Mary had attempted to convert him, he could scarcely have used a more furious speech.

A sad reverse of fortune awaited this poor prelate, and even now closely impended over him. An incurable pulmonary malady soon after seized on the incomparable Edward, and with the decline of his health faded the views of the reformers. Not long before his death, Ridley having delivered before him, with great fervour of eloquence, a discourse on the duties of charity and beneficence, the King sent for him in the evening, to confer with him more at large on the subjects of his sermon, and it is the tradition, that Christ's Hospital, and those of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and Bridewell, owe their foundation, or rather their endowments, to the effect produced on the King's mind by his communication with Ridley on that day. Edward survived but for a few weeks, and Jane Grey became the forlorn hope of the Protestants. Ridley exerted his utmost powers of persuasion in the public support and justification of her title to the Throne, and, on the utter failure of the enterprise at the head of which she had been cruelly placed, tendered his homage to Mary, and besought her mercy. He had however now added the crime of rebellion to what she deemed obstinate heresy, and could scarcely have hoped for forgiveness, even from the most clement prince, under her circumstances.

He was presently committed to the Tower of London, where she remained for eight months, in a less rigorous confinement

than Cranmer, and others, who were imprisoned there for the same causes. It has been thought that Mary was inclined to spare him; an inference drawn from the fact that more strenuous endeavours were used with him to persuade him to recant than towards any of his fellow prisoners. The firmness, however, of his resistance does honour to his memory. He was removed, together with Cranmer and Latimer, to Oxford, and compelled to waste what may be called his dying breath in new disputations on the real presence, and other dogmas of the ancient Church. At length he was brought to trial, and, on the first of October, 1555, condemned to die for heresy. The fifteenth of the same month was appointed for the execution of the sentence, and neither ancient nor modern history can produce a finer example of an heroism, at once splendid and modest, than was displayed in the demeanour with which he met his frightful fate. He perished at the stake, in company with his ancient friend Latimer, and with unnecessary suffering, caused by the mismanagement of those to whom the preparations for the tragedy had been entrusted.

Bishop Ridley was author of a number of devout and controversial pieces, which have been printed, and long since forgotten. 1, "Injunctions of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, to his diocese"—2, "A Treatise concerning Images not to be set up nor worshipped in Churches"—3, "A brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper"—4, "The Way of Peace among all Protestants," in a Letter to Bishop Hooper—5, "A Letter of Reconciliation to Bishop Hooper"—6, "A piteous Lamentation of the miserable State of the Church of England in the time of the late Revolt from the Gospel"—7, "A Comparison between the comfortable Doctrine of the Gospel and the Traditions of the Popish Religion"—8, "Account of the Disputation held at Oxford"—9, "A friendly Farewell," written during his imprisonment there—10, "A Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament."

Engraved by W. Holl

THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1556.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF "GERBICUS FLICCIIS" IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

London, Published May 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

THOMAS CRANMER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

CRANMER, unlike the generality of the clergy of his time, was of very respectable birth. His family was originally seated at Sotherton, in Suffolk, from whence his grandfather removed to Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on his marriage with the heiress of a most ancient house which bore the name of that parish, and whose estates he acquired by the match. The Archbishop was the second son of Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton, by Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, in the same county; and was born at the former place on the second of July, 1489. Strype informs us that the education of his childhood was entrusted to "a rude and severe parish clerk" (meaning, I suppose, the minister of his father's parish) "of whom he learned little, and endured much;" and that at the age of fourteen he became a student of Jesus College, in Cambridge, and in due time was elected a fellow of that house, and took his degree of Master of Arts. His academical career was for a while arrested by an unbecoming match, into which he was probably led by that kind and easy nature which has been always ascribed to him. We are told particularly of his wife, that she was a relation to the hostess of the Dolphin Inn, opposite to Jesus Lane, in Cambridge, and resided there, doubtless in the character of a servant. The marriage of course deprived him of his fellowship, and this good man, destined

to become the second person in the State, retired meekly to live with his wife at the inn, perhaps enjoying there, such is the delusion and uncertainty of human prospects, that peace, and tranquil security, which was ever denied to his future grandeur. Within a year, however, she died in childbirth: Cranmer, such was the affection of his college towards him, was immediately restored to his fellowship; and in 1523 was admitted Doctor in Divinity, and appointed Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own college, and an examiner of candidates for divinity degrees.

He remained, thus employed, in the University till 1529, when an accident made him known to the King. The plague then raged in Cambridge, and Cranmer had taken refuge in the house of a Mr. Cressy, to whose wife he was related, at Waltham Abbey, in Essex, and had carried thither with him the sons of that gentleman, who were his college pupils. It happened during his short residence there that Edward Fox, at that time Almoner to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and the celebrated Stephen Gardiner, came to visit his host: and the legality of Henry's proposed divorce from Catharine of Arragon, for which he was then suing at Rome, becoming the topic of conversation, those eminent persons, to whom Cranmer's reputation at Cambridge was not entirely unknown, engaged him in the discussion. He ventured to say that he thought the King's reference to the Holy See was totally unnecessary; would produce tedious delay, and in the end prove ineffectual; that the question whether a man might lawfully marry his brother's widow appeared to him to have been already clearly decided by the authority of the Scriptures; but that the safest method for the King to pursue would be to lay that question before the most learned divines of his two Universities, and to abide by their decision. Fox and Gardiner, who were good courtiers, as well as good catholics, conscious that the King would highly relish the proposal, hastened to inform him of it, and honestly, or unwarily, mentioned the name of the author; on which Henry is said to have exclaimed, "This man hath gotten the sow by the right ear." He commanded Cranmer to wait on him

without delay; formed presently a high opinion of his talents and his learning; and directed him to digest in the form of a general treatise all his arguments on the subject of the divorce; and, in order to his undisturbed application to that task, placed him in the house of Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire, where he became the friend and favourite of that nobleman's daughter, the beautiful and ill-fated Anne Bullen, whom Henry already meditated to take to his second wife. These matters are said to have occurred in August, 1529.

When he had completed his book, the King sent him to Cambridge, to dispute for the positions which he had advanced in it, and the decision soon after publicly declared by that University against the legality of the marriage with Catharine has been ascribed by historians chiefly to the ingenuity of his reasoning, a compliment to the justice of which, whatever we might be inclined to place to the score of Henry's fearful influence, or of the undoubted dictates of religion and morality, it would be impertinent in this place to controvert. Be that however as it might, certain it is that he had already acquired so great a degree of credit with his master that he placed him at the head of those divines and civilians who were attached to the Earl of Wiltshire's embassy in the following year to the courts of Rome, Paris, and Brussels, and instructed to argue there for the divorce. He had the boldness to present his book to the Pope, and to propose a public disputation on the question, which was civilly declined; but he pressed so closely for some sort of decision, that the Conclave was at length forced into the impious absurdity of uttering a judicial declaration that the marriage was against the law of God, but that yet the Pope had the power of dispensing with it. Leaving Rome, he travelled with the ambassador through Germany, and at Nuremberg became acquainted with Osiander, a celebrated Protestant divine of that city, with whom he sojourned for a considerable time, and prevailed on him to write a treatise on incestuous marriages, in reference to the King's case. But he had a stronger motive for prolonging his stay at Nuremberg. He had again

fallen, in the midst of his grave occupations, into the snare of Love: and before he left that city was privately married to the niece of Osiander. This connection appears to have been attended by but little comfort, for, on his return he left her in Germany; after a time, sent for her to England; and for five years together seemed to have no intercourse with her beyond an indifferent acquaintance; and even this he thought it prudent to relinquish, on the appearance in 1539 of the famous Six Articles, two of which forbade the marriage of priests, under the pain of death, when he sent her again to her family. He had by this lady (a fact which has escaped the notice of all who have written concerning him) a son and a daughter. I find in the journals of Parliament that a bill passed the Commons on the ninth of March, 1562, for "the restoration in blood of Thomas and Margaret, children of the late Archbishop Cranmer."

To return to his public life. It should seem that the King had gradually imparted to Cranmer the whole of his confidence with regard to all his affairs in Germany, for we find him, singly, treating with the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony, and other princes of the empire, on every matter of importance in which England was then concerned with them. He returned, however, in November, 1532, and was immediately named to succeed Warham, who had died in the preceding August, in the see of Canterbury; thus leaping at once from the Archdeaconry of Taunton, and a single benefice, so insignificant that the name of the parish has not been preserved, to the highest ecclesiastical dignity of his country. The truth is, that Henry had found in him a man of considerable talents, united to a candid and grateful mind: humble and pliant as to all temporal affairs, but steadfastly attached to the new faith, a sort of obstinacy at that moment most convenient to his master's purposes. Strype has recorded, not so much to Cranmer's credit, a long detail of his coquetry with the King as to his acceptance of this mighty dignity, in which the simple folly of Nolo Episcopari is absolutely burlesqued. He professed to decline it, not on the allegation, usual in such cases, of his

own insufficiency, but because he could not endure the necessary appointment by the Pope, knowing his Majesty to be the Supreme head of the Church. Henry, affecting to treat this as a new opinion, put him on the proof, and Cranmer quoted an host of texts. The King, good man, was staggered, and referred the question to some chosen civilians, who determined that Cranmer might, without offence to his conscience, accept the Archbishopric at the hands of the Pope, and afterwards protest against his spiritual authority. He submitted, and was consecrated on the thirtieth of March, 1543, when he took the usual oath of fidelity to the Pope, and at the same time recorded a long declaration, in which, unhappily, we find the following words. "Non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovis modo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativum Coronæ ejusdem."

The first important public act of the new Primate was to pronounce the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catharine: the second, to marry that Prince to Anne Bullen. Though his interest was strengthened by the elevation of that unfortunate lady, it was not injured by her fall; and yet, much to the credit of his heart, he had ventured, on her commitment to the Tower, to intercede for her with her savage husband. Indeed his zeal and activity in the great work of the reformation had rendered him an instrument indispensably necessary to the King's designs. While Cromwell was busily demolishing the fabric of the ancient religion, Cranmer, with a gentler hand, raised the new one from its ruins; and, if the Church of England owes the strength and solidity of its structure to the power of Henry, the praise of its beautiful symmetry, and of the simple grandeur of all its parts, is due to the judgment, the mildness, and the patience, of the Archbishop. The story of a man so employed affords but few personal circumstances; and a history of the reformation is in fact the public life of Cranmer. In the prosecution of his mighty task he encountered considerable obstacles; was frequently con-

tradicted, and sometimes endangered. Few among his contemporary prelates were sincere reformers, though all had abjured the Papal authority. Among them, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, not less distinguished by his sagacity than by his malignity, and the detestable Bonner, Bishop of London, were his bitterest enemies. At their secret instigation a long list of frivolous articles was preferred against him in 1543, by some clergy of his own diocese, for mal-administration, and irreligious practices, in his metropolitan church; and, that prosecution having justly ended in the utter shame and ruin of his accusers, he was charged in the House of Commons with heresy against the Sacrament of the Altar This attack also failed, but in the following year a heavier blow was struck at him, for he was impeached to the King by a party, doubtless a majority, in the Privy Council, of endangering the safety of his Majesty, and of the realm, by dividing the people into a variety of heretical sects; on which it was demanded that he might forthwith be committed to the Tower, in order to his judicial examination. He was now saved by the special interposition of the King's absolute authority. Henry, having affected to consent to his imprisonment, sent privately for him in the night, and apprised him of his critical situation. Cranmer, stout in the defence of his doctrine and his practice, replied that he was well content to be committed, so that he might be afterwards indifferently heard. "O Lord," rejoined the King, (to use the words given to him by Fox,) "what fond simplicity! so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of your's may take advantage against you. Do not you know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which, else, being now at liberty dare not once open their lips, or appear before your face?" and hereupon gave him a ring, which was his usual token to the Council when he had determined to take the consideration of any matter from them to himself. They summoned the Archbishop to appear before them the next morning, and, after having subjected him to the indignity of

waiting for an hour among servants in their antechamber, called him in; recited their charges against him at great length; and concluded by informing him of their resolution to make him prisoner; when he produced the ring, and the assembly, breaking up in confusion, waited on the King, who reproached them of falsely accusing his faithful servant, and terrified them into a shew of reconciliation with him. Shakspeare has detailed the circumstances of this incident in his play of Henry the Eighth with much historical fidelity.

Henry at his death bestowed no peculiar mark of favour on Cranmer. He was named, it is true, in the King's will as one of the sixteen executors, and guardians to the youthful successor, a distinction which could scarcely have been withheld from any one in his high office. Edward's minority, however, and the affection of the Protector Somerset to the Protestant cause, left his inclination and his power to proceed in the reformation wholly uncontrouled. Gardiner and Bonner were committed to prison, and deprived; as were Heath, Bishop of Worcester; Day, of Chichester; and Tunstall, of Durham; but Cranmer's triumph over them was marked by mildness and humanity. The death of Somerset, and the accession of Dudley to vice-regal power, mighty as the opposition had been of those two great men, impaired neither his power nor his credit, for Dudley was, or affected to be, a zealous Protestant, and Cranmer meddled little in temporal affairs, unless they were importantly connected with those of the Church, and therefore had few political enemies. Unhappily, his exalted situation necessarily forced him to take a decided part on the great state question of the succession, which distinguished the close of this reign. After having argued with equal boldness and acuteness in the Council, and with the King himself, in support of Mary's title to inherit the Crown, he was at last prevailed on by Edward himself, as it is said, in a personal conference, to subscribe to the Will by which that Prince had, on his death bed, bequeathed it to Jane Grey, and this inexcusable

vacillation sealed the ruin which before seemed ready to overwhelm him.

On the accession of Mary, the whole weight of her vengeance, and that of her hierarchy, burst upon him with irresistible fury. He was included in the act of attainder of the adherents of Jane, and in November, 1553, adjudged guilty of high treason for the part he had taken in her cause. He sued for mercy with the most submissive humility, and was tantalized with a pardon for that offence, which was granted merely to aggravate, as it should seem, the bitter chastisement which awaited him. Apparently in the same spirit, he was sent, in custody, from the Tower, together with Ridley and Latimer, to Oxford, to hold a public disputation on matters of Faith, with a select number of Romanists from the two Universities and the Convocation, deputed by the whole body of Mary's Bishops, not only for that purpose, but to deal judicially with the venerable prisoners. Here Cranmer adhered to his principles with a noble constancy, and on the twentieth of April, 1554, two days after the disputation, was again brought before this singular court; required to recant; and, on his refusal, condemned as a heretic. He was now remanded to his prison, till a confirmation of his sentence should be obtained from Rome; instead of which the Pope ordered a new trial, under his own authority, and directed Cardinal Pole, his Legate, to issue a commission for that purpose. On the twelfth of September, in the following year, Cranmer appeared before the commissioners, at the head of whom was Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, in St.Mary's church in Oxford; and, after some slight form of trial, was again vehemently exhorted to renounce his errors, and again firmly refused: whereupon he was declared contumacious, and cited to appear personally at Rome within eighty days, to which he agreed. In the mean time letters arrived from the Pope to the King and Queen, demanding that he should receive immediate condemnation, and be delivered over to the secular arm. This mandate was accompanied by an order to Bonner, and Thirleby, Bishop of Ely, to degrade him publicly, which ceremony was

performed in the most mortifying and humiliating manner that vulgar malice could contrive.

All however was not yet lost. Cranmer, with the crown of martyrdom suspended but by a hair over his head, was still a formidable adversary. His courageous maintenance of that faith from either the letter or spirit of which he had never for an instant swerved, was a weapon which his enemies could not have wrested from him: but, alas! he let it fall from his hand, and the glory of the Saint was lost in the weakness of the man. Seduced, as Lord Herbert gives us room to suppose, by hopes treacherously held out to him, in an evil hour he signed a written recantation of all his doctrines. The rest is horrible to relate. Having thus sacrificed a splendid reputation in this world, and hazarded his salvation in the next, for the sake of a small remnant of mortal life, which he must have passed in disgrace and obscurity, an order was secretly issued for his execution. He was led to St. Mary's Church to hear a sermon, and placed opposite to the pulpit, which was mounted by a friar, who exhorted him to persist steadfastly in the faith which he had lately embraced, and that to death itself, "which," added the Friar, "it is the will of the magistrate to inflict on you this day!"

In this dreadful moment Cranmer sprung above himself, and nearly redeemed all that he had lost. "He rose from his seat," says Bishop Godwyn, "and, without the smallest discovery of fear, made an excellent speech to the people, in which having premised many things concerning reformation of life and morals, he repeated the principal heads of his doctrine, and briefly explained his faith, affirming that in the power of the Pope was contained and established the Kingdom of Antichrist; and, finally representing how heinously he had offended God by renouncing the truth, he declared therefore his resolution that his right hand, which had so impiously sinned in subscribing the doctrines proposed by the enemies of truth, should be the first to suffer punishment." He was hurried directly from the Church to

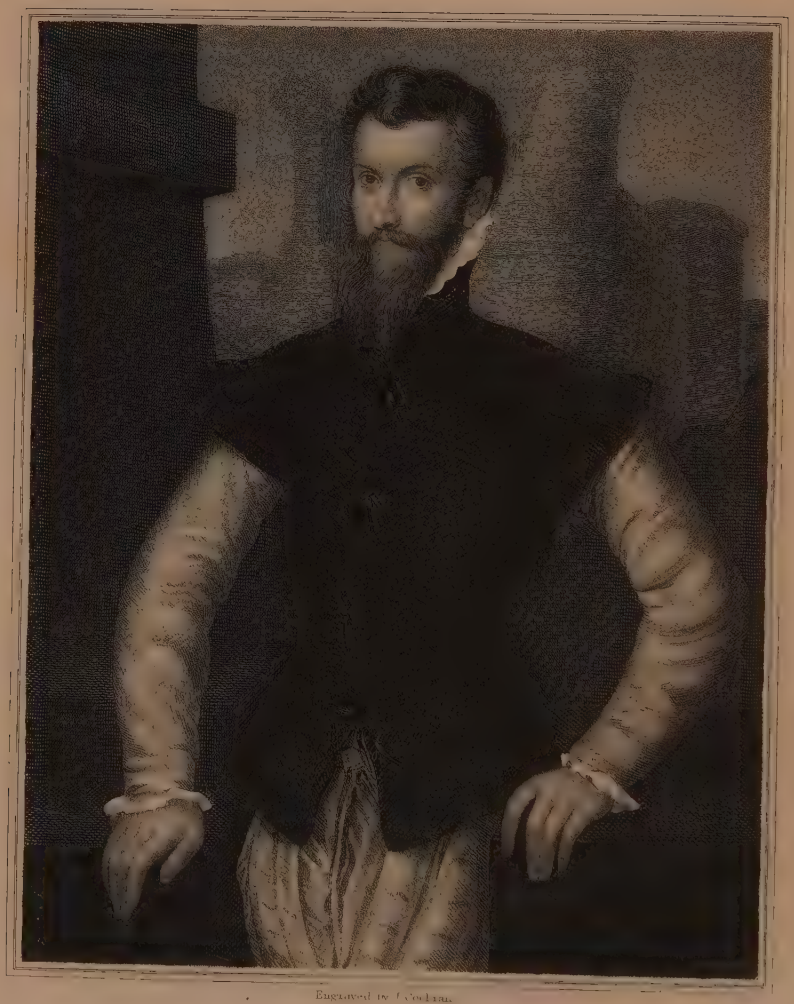
the place of execution. "There he stood," continued Godwyn, as translated by Bishop Kennet, in a strain of expression which could not be amended, "exposed, the most piercing spectacle in the world, sufficient, one would think, not only to extort compassion from his enemies, but to melt inanimate things into tears; the Primate of England, that lately flourished in the highest honour and authority with Princes; most venerable for his great sanctity of life, for his age, person, learning, gravity, and innumerable excellencies of mind; now by the malice of the Romanists, drest in a ridiculous old habit; baited with scurrility, and contemptuous revilings; and dragged to a most inhuman and tormenting death. When he was bound to the stake, as soon as the fire was kindled, he raised his left hand to Heaven, and, thrusting out the other, held it in the flames, not removing it, except once to stroke his beard, till it was quite consumed. At last, as the flame increased, lifting up his eyes, he cried out, Lord, receive my spirit! and, continuing as motionless as the stake to which he was tied, endured the violence of the torture till he expired."

Archbishop Cranmer was the author of a multiplicity of devotional and controversial works. We have of his writings in print, his treatise on the unlawfulness of Henry's first marriage, which has already been mentioned.—Several Letters to that Prince and his ministers, and to some foreign divines.—Three discourses on the matter of the King's book, entitled, "The Erudition of a Christian Man"—a great part of what was called "the Bishop's Book"—Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses in religion—Queries concerning reformation, with answers—A resolution of seventeen questions concerning the Sacraments—A collection of passages out of the Canon Law, to shew the necessity of reforming it—Answers to the fifteen articles of the Devonshire rebels in 1549—A defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; which having been attacked in an answer by Gardiner, Cranmer rejoined in a second tract on the same subject—A Preface to the English translation of the Bible. A Catechism of Christian doc-

trine—The first part of the Book of Homilies—An answer to Dr. Richard Smith, who had written against his books on the Sacrament—A Confutation of unwritten Verities—Reasons which led him to oppose the Six Articles—Answers to some Queries concerning Confirmation—Considerations offered to King Edward the Sixth in favour of a further Reformation—A Manifesto against the Mass—and a Manual of pious prayers. All, or nearly all, these Works may be found, either originally printed, or reprinted, in the collections of Fox, Burnet, and Strype.

His manuscript remains are perhaps equally voluminous, for several of his Tracts which are known to have existed are still undiscovered. Two very large volumes, written by his own hand, on all the great points at issue between the two Churches, are in the King's Collection in the British Museum; and there are, or were, six or seven more in the library at Hatfield. Burnet mentions two other volumes, which he examined; and many of his original letters are in the Cotton Library. Strype states that he left also a declaration in two books, against the Pope's Supremacy; a treatise, in two books, against the Pope's Purgatory; another, concerning justification; and an Argument against the sacrifice of the Mass, composed during his imprisonment; but does not inform us whether in manuscript, or printed.

The original from which the present engraving is taken is a singular curiosity, independently of its great intrinsic merit; for it is the only known specimen of an artist whose very name has escaped the observation of Lord Orford, Pilkington, Bryan, and others who have favoured us with notices of pictorial biography—it is inscribed "Gerbicus Flicciis faciebat," and by a label which appears on another part of the picture we are informed that it was painted in the fifty seventh year of the Archbishop's life.



Engraved by J. Cochran.

EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1556.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published as the Act directs by Harding & Wright, 34 Fleet Street, 1811.

EDWARD COURTENAY,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

We view the circumstances of this Nobleman's short life through the mists of fear and prejudice. An unhappy fatality, as it might seem, had connected him, even from the hour of his birth, with the highest public considerations, in a time peculiarly marked by cruelty and suspicion. Many who knew the truth of his story, and might have been inclined to tell it with fidelity, shrunk probably from so hazardous a disclosure, and remained nearly silent. Of those who have touched on it more at large, some seem to have been confined by party spirit, and others by an authority not unwelcome to their religious and political bigotry, to the relation of a few facts which tend rather to excite curiosity than to afford information. Even from them, however, we are enabled to infer with accuracy that he was accomplished, innocent, and miserable.

His misfortunes originated solely in his illustrious descent. His father, Henry Courtenay, tenth Earl of Devonshire of his family, whose mother was the Princess Catherine, daughter of King Edward the fourth, had been one of the ephemeral favourites of Henry VIII., who having advanced him to the title of Marquis of Exeter, caused him, a few years after, to be accused of high treason, in having corresponded by letter with his banished kinsman Cardinal Pole; convicted without proof, and beheaded. His mother, Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Mont-

joy, was in the following year, by a monstrous perversion of law, attainted without trial, but her life was spared. Edward, their only son, the subject of this Memoir, was born about the year 1526, and, immediately after the death of his father, though then only twelve years of age, was committed to the Tower "lest he should raise commotions," says the author of the History of the Courtenay Family, "by revenging his father's quarrel." Thus dreadfully do injustice and fear ever attend and aggravate each other! He remained there, painful to relate, a close prisoner, for fifteen years. The clemency usually ascribed to the reign of Edward VI., which indeed owes the reputation of mildness and justice merely to a comparison with the deeper horrors of that which preceded it, afforded him no relief. He was even one of the six persons who were specially excepted from the general pardon granted at Edward's coronation. Mary, however, immediately after her accession visited his prison, where this unfortunate young man, together with the Duke of Norfolk, Bishop Gardiner, and the Duchess of Somerset, presented themselves to her on their knees upon Tower Hill, when she kindly raised and kissed them, saying, "These be my prisoners;" and on the third of September 1558, exactly one month afterwards, restored to him the Earldom of Devonshire, by a new patent of creation, together with such of his father's great estates as had not yet been granted away by the Crown. Prince in his "Worthies of Devon," and some others, add that the dignity of Marquis of Exeter was also at the same time revived in him, but this is an error.

Mary's benignity towards him has been so generally ascribed by historians to a personal affection, that the fact can scarcely be doubted. Fuller, whose words I quote for the sake of conciseness, and who ought never to be quoted unless his account be supported, as it is in great measure in this instance, by the testimony of more cautious writers, tells us, in his "Holy State," that "this most noble young Earl was a person of lovely aspect; of a beautiful body, sweet nature, and royal descent: all which con-

curring in him, the Queen cast an obliging countenance upon him, and, as it was generally conceived, intended him an husband for herself; of which report hath handed down to us this confirmation: that when the said Earl petitioned the Queen for leave to travel, she advised him rather to marry, ensuring him that no lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse him for an husband; and, urging him to make his choice where he pleased, she pointed herself out unto him as plainly as might consist with the modesty of a maiden, and the majesty of a Queen." Others, with much improbability, add that he was one of the prisoners recommended to her by her Privy Council among whom to choose a husband. Bishop Godwyn, an historian of deserved credit, and who was then in existence, says, according to Kennett's translation, that "there were three at that time allotted by common fame for her choice: Philip, Prince of Spain; Cardinal Reginald Pole; and Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter," (for so the Bishop always styles him). "The two latter had their country, and the splendour of their ancestors, to recommend them; and there were hopes that under either of them the liberty and privileges of the kingdom would be preserved. Affinity of blood was respected in them all. Pole was much in the Queen's affection for his gravity and holy life, joined with the greatest courtesy and prudence; and Courtenay for his youth, good humour, and his courtly address: but some suspicions were raised against the latter as if he favoured the reformation."

The correctness of the report that he had made a tender impression on the heart of Mary is here rather favoured than opposed. Those who have delivered it down to us add, that he treated her advances with indifference, because he was warmly attached to her sister Elizabeth. Burnet seems to have believed the whole, for he says, in the History of the Reformation, "The new Earl of Devonshire was much in her favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and

an inclination to her sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses with more than ordinary concern to the lady Elizabeth, and this did bring them both into trouble." Sir Thomas Wyat, on the contrary, when he was taken prisoner, accused the Earl of having engaged in his conspiracy in resentment of the Queen's having refused to take him for her husband; and of a consequent design to depose her, and obtain the throne by marrying Elizabeth; and upon this charge both the Princess and the Earl were committed to the same prison from which he had been only six months before released. Wyat, however, when he was led to execution, confessed that he had invented it in the hope of saving his life, and intreated that he might be conducted to the apartment of the Earl of Devonshire, which being permitted, he besought the Earl, on his knees, to pardon the wicked slander which he had falsely uttered. Several respectable writers, following Fox, whose partiality is seldom considered with sufficient caution, say that Gardiner, in his malice to Elizabeth, contrived this interview, and then reported to the Council that Wyat had solicited it for the purpose of exhorting the Earl to confess his guilt, and that of the Princess. But Wyat, on the scaffold, (and here I will use not only Fox's words, but his authority, for he durst not have stated falsely what had been so lately proclaimed in the hearing perhaps of thousands), told the people, "Whereas it is noised abroad that I should accuse the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtenay: it is not so, good people; for I will assure you that neither they, nor any other now yonder in hold, were privy to my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the Queen and Council, and it is most true."

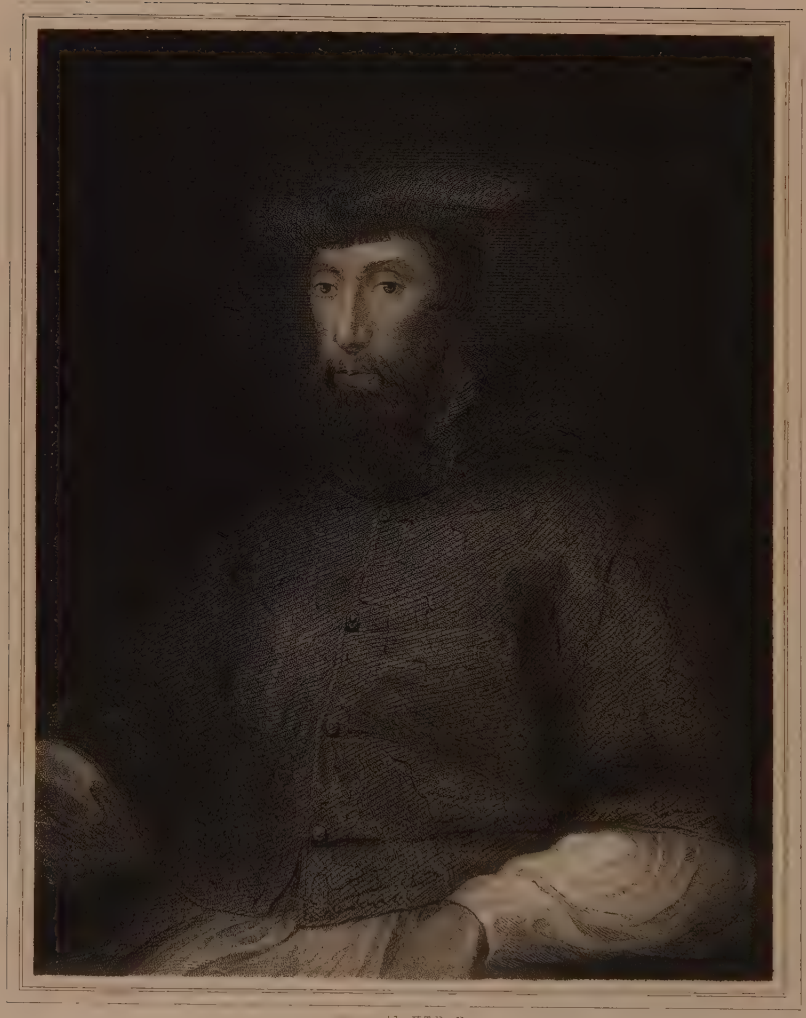
The Earl was detained in the Tower till the twenty-fifth of May, 1554, when he was removed in the night to Fotheringhay Castle, in Northamptonshire, and there still kept in close imprisonment till the spring of the following year; when Philip, to

gain popularity among his new subjects, for the view which we have of his character allows no hope of a better motive, procured the enlargement of the Earl, as well as of the Princess, who was at that time confined in the royal house of Woodstock. The miserable Courtenay, conscious that he should ever remain an object of suspicion, made the first use of that liberty which he had so little known, to implore the Queen's permission to quit England: which having obtained, he travelled through France and Italy, and at length determined to sit down at Padua, in the fruitless hope of passing there in quiet the remainder of a life which had hitherto been distinguished by the most undeserved and unexampled persecution. Within a few weeks however after his arrival, he was seized by a distemper which, within fourteen days from its first appearance, carried him off, on the fourth of October, 1556, not without strong, and probably well-founded, suspicions of poison, administered at the instigation of emissaries from the land which had given him his ill-fated birth. He was buried in the Church of St. Anthony in Padua, where a superb monument remains, or lately remained, to his memory, with the following uncouth inscription; which I insert because it affords, from a somewhat singular source, a corroboration of some of the most important circumstances of a story involved in much uncertainty, and frequently disfigured by wilful misrepresentation.

"Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitura patronum,
Corteneum celsa hæc continet arca Ducem.
Credita causa necis Regni affectata cupido,
Reginæ optatum tunc quoque connubium:
Cui regni proceres non consensere, Philippo
Reginam Regi jungere posse rati.
Europam unde fuit juveni peragrare necesse,
Ex quo mors misero contigit ante diem.
Anglia si plorat defuncto principe tanto
Nil mirum; domino deficit illa pio.
Sed jam Cortenius cælo, fruiturque, beatis:
Cum doleant Angli, cum sine fine gemant.

Cortenei probitas igitur, præstantia, nomen,
Dum stabit hoc Templum vivida semper erunt.
Anglia hinc etiam stabit, stabuntque Britanni,
Conjugii optati fama perennis erit.
Improba naturæ leges libitina rescindens,
Ex æquo juvenes, præcipitatque senes."

The elder male line of the great House of Courtenay became extinct by the death of this young nobleman, and the remains, still considerable, of its vast estates fell by inheritance to the heirs of the four sisters of his great-grandfather, who had married into the ancient western families of Tretherf, Arundel of Talverne, Mohun, and Trelawney.



Engraved by H.T. Ryall

CARDINAL POLE.

OB. 1557.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF TITIAN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON^BLE LORD ARUNDEL OF WARDOUR.

PRO

London, Published Decr 1, 1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

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CARDINAL POLE.

Reginald Pole, a noble example to the age in which he lived, stood almost alone, without acquiring the degrees of distinction which he justly merited. The splendour of his birth forbade his mixing with a clergy generally sprung from the most ordinary ranks of the people, and the native candour and generosity of his heart restrained him from taking any share in those secret intrigues, those pious frauds, which were then the venial faults of the rulers of a falling church. He was in a great measure disqualified, not only by the sweetness of his temper and the politeness of his breeding, but by the large scope of his mind, for controversies in which the most obscure and insignificant subtleties were always discussed with ill nature and ill manners. His aversion to persecution made him a silent and inactive member of those ecclesiastical commissions which in his own country derived credit from his name; and a sincere Christian humility, joined to that dignified spirit which ruled his conduct in temporal affairs, detached him from the parties which agitated the Conclave, and besieged the Papal throne. Thus in his own time more admired than understood; respected, but not imitated; and of habits too widely dissimilar from those of others of his own station to admit easily of comparison; it is rather his character than his history that has been transmitted to posterity. It is the common fate of good counsels that have been rejected, and of worthy examples that have been contemned, to pass in a great measure unrecorded.

The blood of the House of York flowed largely in his veins, and he was doubly related to royalty. He was the fourth and youngest son of Richard Pole, Lord Montague, cousin-german to Henry the Seventh, by Margaret, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth. He is said to have been born in the month of March, 1500, at Stoverton Castle, as Camden informs us, the seat of his father, in Staffordshire. Designated from his earliest infancy for the clerical profession, he was sent at the age of seven years to commence his education with the Carthusians of the monastery of Sheen in Surrey, and afterwards to the Carmelites of the White Friars, in London, from whence, when about twelve years old, he removed to Oxford, and was entered a nobleman of Magdalen College, where he studied under those eminent scholars, Thomas Linacre and William Latimer. It is perhaps unimportant to record those steps which may be considered as mere formalities of advancement in one whom power had predestined to fill the highest station in his profession, but we find that on the nineteenth of March, 1517, he was appointed Prebendary of Yoscomb, and on the tenth of April, 1519, of Yatminster Secunda, both in the church of Salisbury; and that he was, about the same time, Dean of Wimbourne Minster in Dorsetshire, and, shortly after, Dean of Exeter. Henry the Eighth now sent him, with a large allowance, and a retinue becoming his rank, to Italy, and he settled at Padua, where he was presently surrounded by the ablest and more erudite of that country, and acquired in their society those final graces and refinements of education which even learning can never attain but in the warmth and freedom of good conversation.

Having passed seven years at Padua, Venice, and Rome, he returned home, and, remaining in the court barely long enough to receive the homage which it was eager to pay to his talents and acquirements, modestly retired to a small house at Sheen, where for two years he prosecuted his studies and devotions with severity, and bestowed his hours of relaxation on such of his old Carthusian masters as still survived. He quitted this retreat upon the first rumours of Henry's inclination to dissolve his

marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to which he was utterly averse; and, in order to avoid the necessity of giving unwelcome advice to the King, by whom he was certain to be consulted on that difficult subject, went to Paris, under the pretence of completing his studies. He was soon however followed thither by the question which Henry, by Cranmer's advice, had determined to lay before all the learned of Europe—"Whether it were lawful for a man to marry the widow of a brother, to whom she had borne no issue?" and he was commanded by the King to use his best endeavours to prevail on the French Universities, particularly that of Paris, to answer negatively. He contrived to excuse himself from this employment, and, for the time, to evade giving a direct opinion. The King became displeased; and Pole's family advised him to return to England, and to that simplicity of life which might prevent suspicion. He came accordingly, after a year's absence, and resumed his former habitation at Sheen, where he had scarcely seated himself when Henry, who had now determined to sound the inclinations of the most eminent for power or learning of his own subjects on the question of his divorce, besieged him with emissaries, who pressed him vainly for his concurrence. The See of Winchester, and afterwards that of York, were offered to him as the price of his concession, but he still declined to utter any judgment on the matter, and begged only to be left in peace. His brothers were at last induced to endeavour to move him by representations of the ruin to his family that would inevitably follow his refusal, and with which they had actually been threatened, and his kind nature now gave way. He consented to wait on the King, and to dissemble those scruples which he could not abandon. In his audience he long remained mute; but at length nobly sacrificing passion to conscience, and safety to sincerity, burst into that flow of powerful argument in which he was so great a master, and finally exhorted the King to desist from his purpose. Henry during their discourse is said frequently to have laid his hand on his dagger. Pole however escaped with no further punishment at that time than

the loss of favour, and availed himself of this precarious interval of forbearance to solicit the King's permission once more to leave the country.

He now resided for a year at Avignon, and removed from thence to his favourite Padua, where he had not long been before a messenger arrived from Henry, not only again to urge his concurrence in the divorce, but in the greater matter of the King's assumption of the supremacy. As this Prince had already denounced the penalties of high treason against those of his subjects who might oppose that act, it is clear that his meaning was now to reduce Pole to implicit obedience, or virtually to sentence him to banishment. He sent also, under the pretence of argumentative persuasion, a book which had been published in England by Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, intituled "Oratio hortatoria ad obedientiam Regis, contra Papam." Pole in answer, declared his total disapprobation both of the divorce, and the separation from the See of Rome, and soon after addressed to the King his large treatise, composed in four months, and subsequently published at Rome, "Pro Unitate Ecclesiasticâ," in which he not only answered the chief points of Sampson's oration, but openly exhorted Henry to return to his obedience to the Pope, and called on the Emperor Charles the Fifth to resent the injury done to his aunt, the repudiated Queen. Henry, who, with all his faults, was seldom treacherous, now dissembled his anger, in the double hope of preventing the publication of this book, and of getting the person of the author into his power. He sent therefore, specially by post, a mild message, from which it might have been inferred even that his resolutions were somewhat shaken, requiring Pole to return to England, for the purpose of discussing more at large some particular passages in his treatise, which he answered by a direct refusal, and by a spirited reiteration of his former counsel. It was doubtless of that book, though Strype seems to think that it referred to some other, now unknown, that Cranmer, in a letter which may be found in the appendix to Strype's Life of that prelate, thus expressed himself to Thomas

Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire. "As concerning the Kyng his cause," says Cranmer, "Mayster Raynold Poole hathe wrytten a booke moche contrary to the Kynge hys purpose; wythe such wytte that it apperith that he myght be, for hys wysedome, of the Cownsell to the Kynge his Grace, and of such eloquence, that if it were set forthe, and knowne to the comen people, I suppose yt were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." Such was the testimony borne to the talents of this eminent person by his most determined adversary.

The King now proceeded to deprive him of his ecclesiastical preferments, and of the large pension which even to this time he had received, and soon after caused him to be proclaimed a traitor, offering a reward to any who should kill him. The favour of the Court of Rome naturally kept pace with Henry's vengeance, and in January, 1536, Paul the Third created him a Cardinal, and soon after appointed him Legate to the Court of France, and afterwards, at the desire, as it should seem, of the Emperor, to Flanders. He had not been long at Paris when he was secretly informed that Henry had written to the French King to deliver him up as a rebel subject, and fled therefore precipitately to Cambray, and thence to Liege; nor was his mission to the Low Countries more successful, for the Queen Regent, intimidated by the threats of Henry, refused to receive him in his legantine character. He was therefore recalled by the Pope, and travelled through Germany to Rome, from whence he accompanied Paul to Nice; negotiated a peace between the Emperor and Francis the First; and soon after travelled, with all possible privacy, into Spain, and from thence to Paris, to engage those Princes, and others, to abandon their designs against the Turk, and to form a league for the restoration of the ancient faith, and of the papal authority, in England. While these matters were passing in 1539, Henry, with a savage meanness, wreaked his vengeance on the Cardinal's family. His mother, and two of his three brothers, were brought to trial, chiefly on the charge of having corresponded with him, and condemned to die. The younger, Sir Geoffery Pole, wrought

on by his fears, was induced to accuse the rest of an incredible design to depose the King, and raise the Cardinal to the throne, and received therefor a pardon; but the Lord Montague suffered death, and his venerable mother, heir of the great House of Plantagenet, after two years' imprisonment, was also brought, at the age of seventy, to the scaffold, where, says Lord Herbert, "being commanded to lay her head on the block, she refused, saying 'so should traitors do, but I am none;' neither did it serve that the executioner told her it was the fashion: so turning her grey head every way, she told him, if he would have her head, to get it as he could; so that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly!"

Pole, overwhelmed probably by these domestic miseries, now passed some years nearly in inactivity, and the Pope, anxious to preserve him from Henry's fury, sent him to Viterbo, with the honorary character of Legate. He resided there till 1546, when on the meeting, in the beginning of January, of the Council of Trent, he was deputed thither, with two other Cardinals, to represent the Pontiff. He was obliged by ill health to leave the Council sitting, and to retire again for a time into privacy, and during that interval his great enemy, King Henry, was taken off by death. Paul the Third dying in 1549, Pole was twice elected, if it may be so said, to the Popedom. He was opposed by the Cardinals in the French interest, and the first determination of the Conclave in his favour was made amidst tumult and party rage. He refused it therefore as irregular, and not sufficiently deliberate; whereupon his friends reluctantly proceeded to a new scrutiny, and the former election was confirmed, late in the evening of the same day, by a clear majority of voices. They repaired to his apartment to notify it, and to adore him, according to the custom, but he had retired to rest. "He received them with anger," says the translator of that passage in his life, written by his friend Ludovico Baccatelli, "telling them that he would not have a thing, which was to be feared rather than desired, carried on tumultuously and rashly, but decently and orderly: that the night was not a proper time: God was a God of light, and not of dark-

ness ; and therefore it ought to be deferred till day came." These answers were ill suited to the pride and the vivacity of Italians, and on a third scrutiny, the Cardinal del Monte was elected, and took the name of Julius the Third. From that Pontiff, who was Pole's particular friend, he obtained leave to retire from all public concerns at Rome, and seems at that time to have resolved to pass the remainder of his life in a devout seclusion. He fixed his abode at a monastery, in the territory of Verona, where he remained for nearly four years, when the unexpected death of Edward the Sixth drew him suddenly from his retirement.

Of Mary's attachment to that form of Christianity which Pole so sincerely professed, it is unnecessary to speak ; and he, above all men, possessed those talents which were best calculated to aid its restoration in England. The Pope therefore, soon after the Queen's accession, nominated him Legate to her Court, and he set out towards London in the end of October, 1554. A slight and ineffectual opposition to his appointment was offered by the Emperor. Some advances had been already made towards a treaty of marriage between his son, Philip of Spain, and the Queen, but it was rumoured that she had betrayed an inclination to bestow her hand on the Cardinal, and well known that a large party in England preferred him to the Spaniard. The marriage with Philip however was soon after celebrated, and Pole arrived in London just upon the meeting of Mary's second Parliament, on the eleventh of November. One of its first acts was to reverse his attainder ; the King and Queen paid him the extraordinary compliment of going in person to assent to that single bill ; and the Cardinal took his seat among the Peers. In the long catalogue which history furnishes of the triumphs of worldly interests over principle and conscience, perhaps no one can be found more remarkable than that which immediately followed, and in a single hour suspended the effect of twenty-five years' labour. " A little after his coming," says the translator of Bishop Godwin's history of the reign of Mary, " both Houses being assembled, and the King and Queen being present, the Lord

Chancellor having notified the Cardinal's grateful arrival, Pole himself, in his native tongue, made a long speech, full of extraordinary acknowledgments to their Majesties, to the Lords and Commons, by whose favour, his banishment and proscription being repealed, he was restored to the rights and privileges of his native country. 'And the best return,' he said, 'which in duty and gratitude he could make for so great an obligation was this—that, since by the late schism they had become exiles from the unity of the Church, and the kingdom of heaven, he would, by authority from Christ's Vicar, bring them back to the fold, and so restore them to their heavenly inheritance. Therefore he exhorted them ingenuously to acknowledge and detest the errors of the late times, and with sincere alacrity of mind to accept and retain the benefit which God, by the Vicar's Legate, offered to them, for since he was come with the keys, to open to them the church gates, nothing now remained than, that as they had opened a way for his return, by abrogating the laws which had made him an exile, so they should abrogate all those laws too which, being lately made against the Apostolical See, wholly separated them from the body of the church.'

"After he had made a long harangue," continues the Bishop, "to this effect, and ransacked antiquity to shew how religiously their forefathers were devoted to the See of Rome, the gravity of his countenance, his smooth language, and the elegant method of his discourse, so sensibly affected the devotees of Popery, that they believed themselves just then regenerated to the hopes of salvation: yet there were some of the House of Commons who strenuously opposed the submitting again to the Roman yoke: but, in fine, by the pressing instances of the King and Queen, all things were concluded to the Cardinal's satisfaction: the Pope's former authority in this realm was restored; and the title of Supreme Head of the Church abrogated from the Crown. A petition for absolving the clergy and laity from the crime of heresy was presented by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor to the Legate, who pronounced the absolution, in English,

to all the Estates, kneeling. After this they went in procession to the Chapel Royal, singing Te Deum; and on the Sunday following the Bishop of Winchester in his sermon related the particulars of that day's proceeding."

The Cardinal's soon proved, however, a painful, and indeed but a nominal, pre-eminence. Mary, gloomy, morose, and revengeful, and, as may be feared, in her very nature cruel, was easily led to reject the wise and temperate plans which he seems to have formed, and to set at nought those mild, as well as wise, counsels which would probably have perpetuated the Romish religion in England. Gardiner, barbarous as herself, and with powers of mind which, though of a different cast, were equal to those of Pole, obtained her ear, and laid the foundation of those measures which have rendered her name a blot on the page of history. He regarded Pole too with the jealousy of a rival, and thirsted for the Primacy, vacant by the deprivation of Cranmer, which Mary had designed for the Cardinal, and which he now held in sequestration. In the spirit of hatred which soon arose out of these causes Gardiner intrigued at Rome for the dignity of the Purple, and to induce the new Pope Paul the Fourth, of the family of Caraffa, who had been always Pole's bitter enemy, to transfer the legantine character from that prelate to himself. Gardiner however died while he was eagerly prosecuting these schemes, and three months after, on the fifteenth of February, 1556, the next day after Cranmer's execution, Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In the mean time the Pope proceeded to deprive him of the office of Legate, and invested another with that character, but Mary refused to admit him into her kingdom, and, after a sharp contest, which she maintained with a becoming and laudable spirit, Pole was reinstated. But the hand of death then hovered unseen over the mistress and the servant. He was soon after attacked by a feverish complaint, in which he lingered for several weeks, while Mary also gradually sunk under an unknown malady. She died on the seventeenth of November, 1557, and the Cardinal, whose departure was probably accelerated by

receiving the news, survived her exactly sixteen hours. He was buried with great state in the Cathedral of Canterbury, but with no other epitaph than this short inscription, "Depositum Cardinalis Pcli."

The productions of Pole's pen, as might be expected, were very numerous. In addition to his book De Unitate, which has been mentioned, he addressed to Henry the Eighth a defence of that work, and another to Edward the Sixth. His other printed writings are "Reformatio Angliæ, ex Decretis Reg. Poli"—"De Concilio"—"De Baptismo Constantini Imperatoris"—"De Summi Pontificis Officio et Potestate," and other tracts on that subject—"Oratio in Materia de Pace"—"Oratio ad Imperatorem contra Evangelicos"—and "A Treatise of Justification," with which are printed translations of several small ancient works, chiefly on the same subject. He left also in manuscript, according to Anthony Wood—"Comment. in Esaiam"—"Comment. in Davidis Hymnos"—"Catechismus"—"Dialogus de Passione Christi"—"De Natali Die Christi"—"De Modo Concionandi"—A Discourse unfinished, addressed to Philip and Mary, of restoring the Goods to the Church, and three Homilies. He had likewise been for several years employed, as we learn from the same authority, in collecting with the greatest care the various readings and emendations of the text of Cicero's works, together with the critical observations of all his learned friends on that author, with the intention of publishing a complete edition. This classical curiosity is it seems totally lost, as are probably most of the rest of his unpublished works.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall

QUEEN MARY.

OB. 1558.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF EXETER.

London, Published Augst 1.1831, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

QUEEN MARY

The history of this Princess, who, it is scarcely necessary to say, was the daughter of Henry the eighth by Catherine of Arragon, and his first-born child, lies within a very narrow compass. Her reign was short, and undistinguished by any remarkable feature, either of the State policy or military fortune, from which the fame of Monarchs is usually derived. Her private life was yet more barren of circumstance, and so her character has remained wholly unknown to us. Could it then have been unfair or rash to conclude, to use a common but homely phrase, that she had no character at all? Surely we might have reasonably argued that had she possessed any one remarkable quality of mind, or shone in any acquired accomplishment, the facts could scarcely have been concealed from us; that the deserts of Princes never want recorders; and that her friends and partizans, who then covered more than half the face of Europe, had, in addition to all ordinary motives to celebrate her, the powerful incentive of a party spirit the most active and heated, because it was founded in religious zeal. Nor could it have been answered to those remarks that their opponents, who at least equalled them in fury, would certainly not have omitted to publish to the world her deficiencies, for the rejoinder was ready—that doubtless they would, had they been able, but that to them she was unknown and inaccessible. To all this might be fairly added that a living author, of the Catholic Faith, who to every other merit of an historian adds that of perfect candour, inferentially admits the

justice of this supposed view of her by confining his report of her qualifications to the remarks that "she understood the Italian, and spoke the French and Spanish languages, knew the Latin, and played well on the lute and monochord," without at all adverting to her natural talents. These negative presumptions against her, which, in combination, have always had on my mind and on those of most others the effect of proof, have been in a moment dispersed and overthrown by two documents in the very recent publication of "Original Letters" from the British Museum. It is on such evidence only that the truth of history becomes undeniable.

Since the death of her father, incessant efforts had been made, in the name of the young Edward, to induce her to the protestant profession. It was at length determined to deal sternly with her, and on the twenty-eighth of August, 1551, she having some days before addressed to her brother a letter of denial, perhaps in all respects the best epistolary relique extant of the age and land in which she lived, three Privy Counsellors, with the Chancellor Rich at their head, waited on her at her House of Copthall in Essex, once more to argue with her, and, if she continued refractory, to signify to her the King's resolution to prohibit the Mass in her family, and to dismiss her priests, as he had already such of the lay officers of her household as had refused to conform. We have, in the very curious collection in question, not only the letter just now alluded to, but the narrative composed by those ministers, at great length, and with minute exactness, of their conversation with her, for the inspection of the King in Council on their return; a conversation in which, alone and unaided, she had to contend with three experienced statesmen on a subject of all others the most important in her estimation to her present welfare, and to her future hopes.

They commenced by delivering to her a letter from her brother, which she knelt to receive, and kissed. "I kiss it," said she, "for the honour of the King's Majesty's hand, and not for the matter contained in it, for that I take to proceed not from

his Majesty, but from you his Council." On silently reading it, struck, as it should seem, by some particular passage, she remarked sarcastically, as if to herself, "Ah! good Mr. Cecil took much pains here." On the Chancellor's beginning to open their instructions, she desired him to be short, "for," said she, "I am not well at ease, and I will make you a short answer." He proceeded to apprize her of the privations to which it was intended to subject her, and was about to inform her who were the counsellors present when the resolutions to this effect were made; but she stopped him short, saying, "I care not for any rehearsal of their names. I know you all to be of one sort therein." Then, having warmly declared her utter obedience and submission to the King, saving her conscience, she added "when the King's Majesty shall come to such years that he may be able to judge these things himself, his Majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion; but now, in these years, although he, good sweet King, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible that he can be a judge of these things: for if ships were to be sent to the seas, or any other thing to be done touching the policy and government of the realm, I am sure you would not think his Highness yet able to consider what were to be done, and much less can he in these years discern what is fit in matters of divinity." After much more conversation on minor points, in which she used the same caution and vivacity in her replies, the Chancellor turned the discourse on the Emperor, to whom she insisted that a promise had been given for her freedom in religion, of which she cited particular proofs, which being controverted by Rich, she became warm, and said, "I have the Emperor's hand testifying that this promise was made, which I believe better than all you of the Council; and though you esteem little the Emperor, yet should you shew more favour to me for my father's sake, who made the more part of you almost of nothing." They then proposed to send some one to supply the place of Sir Robert Rochester, the comptroller of her household, and one of the officers of whom they had deprived her; but she answered

that she would appoint her own officers, and if any such man were left there, she would "go out of her gates," for they two would not dwell in one house. She soon after left them, having first, again on her knees, delivered to the Chancellor a ring for Edward, and they proceeded to give several strict orders to her chaplains, and others about her, and, when in the court, on their departure, Mary called them to a window, and desired them to procure the return of her comptroller; "for," said she, "since his departing I take the accounts myself of my expenses, and have learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat; and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing; and, to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office; and therefore if my Lords will send mine officer home, they will do me pleasure; otherwise, if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will; and I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies too, for some of you have but weak bodies."

Having meant to give incontrovertible proof that the powers of her mind and understanding were of no ordinary class, I forbear to insert the letter which preceded this conversation, because it is possible, even probable, that she might have been largely assisted in the composition of it, or even that it might have been wholly the work of another pen. It is needless to observe that verbal communication admits of no such doubt, and for the genuineness of the Chancellor's narrative, we have the books of the Privy Council, in which the original is recorded. It is then ascertained that Mary possessed prudence, presence of mind, quickness of apprehension, acute feelings, and an undaunted courage; and that she joined to them extensive powers of expression, and a lofty sense of the dignity of her station. What then, when her persecution had ceased, and she had mounted an almost absolute throne, intervened to arrest the exercise of those faculties; to render the whole of her reign inglorious, and even insignificant; and herself, were it not for one lamentable class of exceptions, a cypher in history? Simply an attachment to the

faith in which her mother had sedulously bred her, so constant, so ardent, so exclusive, as to engross every passion and sentiment, and to cast an impervious veil over her true character. But I have perhaps dwelt too long on this discussion. It is at all events time to glance at the most important parts of the story of her public life.

Mary's reign, historically speaking, commenced on the death of her brother, Edward, on the sixth of July, 1553, but, as the shadow of ephemeral authority which had been forced on Jane Grey, by her father and Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and the circumstances which produced its rise and fall, have been so lately and largely treated of in the Memoirs respectively appropriated in this work to those three eminent persons, it will perhaps be better to refer the reader to those Memoirs than to trouble him with an imperfect repetition of the substance of them in this place. Those great events occupied scarcely a month, at the end of which, Mary triumphantly entered London, and may be said to have mounted the throne. She had made no secret of her intention to restore the ancient religion, and the nation therefore, however chagrined, was not disappointed when they saw the Catholic Prelates, the chief of whom had been long prisoners, not only restored to freedom, but to their respective sees. Of these, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a man whose character has been so disguised amidst the furious contention of parties as to leave us nothing certain but that he possessed consummate sagacity, was appointed to the custody of the Great Seal, and chosen by the Queen as her most confidential minister. In the mean time she regulated her conduct in all matters of high importance by the advice of her near kinsman the Emperor Charles the fifth, to whose interference on her behalf she had been much indebted during her late sufferings, and who now granted his good offices with increased alacrity in furtherance of a view which he had conceived of obtaining her hand for his son Philip of Spain. Mary, from policy, as well as dislike to her sister Elizabeth, had resolved, and from the hour of her accession

declared, her resolution to marry. On whom she should fix her choice had been lready the subject of frequent deliberation in her Council. Sev ral foreign Princes had been proposed, and, of her countrymen, Cardinal Pole, who it happened had not been debarred by priest's orders, and the son of the attainted Marquis of Exeter, the young Edward Courtenay, whom on her arrival in London, she had created Earl of Devonshire, and towards whom she had long manifested an evident partiality. Pole was rejected on the score of his too advanced age, and Courtenay is said to have lost her favour through the irregularity of his private life. Previously to these discussions she had secretly solicited the opinion of the Emperor on this important question, and before they had terminated, received his answer, recommending his son, whom she agreed to accept. He advised her also to proceed in the restoration of the old religion with cautious and gentle steps, but here unhappily she was less compliant.

She had however hitherto done no very material public act to that effect, though the reformers had imprudently offered her a pretext by assaulting in the pulpit one of her chaplains who narrowly escaped with his life. This forbearance however was but of short duration. Six bishops were thrown into prison for impugning the revived Church, and among them the Primate Cranmer, and Ridley, both of whom it is true had added to that offence their earnest endeavours in favour of the title of Jane Grey. The Princess Elizabeth, on whose firmness in the reformed faith the protestants had built their best hopes, now affected to abandon it, and was received into the regal favour. The meeting of Mary's first Parliament was distinguished by the celebration of high Mass before both Houses; their addresses were filled with acknowledgments of the Queen's piety, and their first enactments were an unanimous declaration of the Queen's legitimacy; the annulment of the divorce of her father and mother; and a bill for the resumption of divine service as used at the time of the death of Henry the eighth. The marriage of priests was again declared unlawful, and a visitation appointed to

enforce the prescribed mode of worship. The return to the church of Rome might therefore be now esteemed nearly complete in all but the acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy, a faculty less likely to be so readily conceded either by Prince or people. In the mean time the negotiations for the royal marriage proceeded slowly, and were encountered at every step by adversaries, foreign as well as domestic. The English, in their dread of the rule of a stranger Prince, forgot for a while their religious dissensions, and many of Mary's most zealous friends, even in her Council, with Gardiner at their head, strongly opposed the match, while Henry the Second of France, the inveterate rival of the Emperor, used the most subtle agents to intrigue against it in London. The House of Commons voted an address, beseeching her to prefer an English consort, but her determination was unalterable, and it is even said, that on the same evening she sent secretly for the Imperial Ambassador into her private oratory, and in his presence affianced herself to Philip at the foot of the Altar. Shortly after, she dissolved the Parliament.

The public annunciation of the marriage, which soon followed, was the signal for that extensive, but ill planned and worse executed enterprise known by the name of Wyat's insurrection. Whether it was undertaken with Elizabeth's knowledge is one among many mysterious questions which it involved, and which will probably never be satisfactorily answered. Certain, however, it is, that she was suspected, imprisoned, and closely questioned on it, and that the Queen thenceforward withdrew from her almost all appearance of kindness. She is said to have been spared from a public trial at the intercession of Gardiner.

A Parliament was now called, which proved less complaisant than its predecessor. It ratified without scruple the treaty for the Queen's marriage, but rejected almost all other measures proposed by the ministers, among which were bills for enabling the Queen to dispose of the Crown by her will; for the revival of the dreaded Six Articles; and of the ancient laws against the Lollards. Mary therefore dissolved it at the end of one month,

and prepared with much anxiety for the arrival of her consort, who, after long and apparently unnecessary delays, arrived, and was received by her with a fondness which it soon became evident was irksome to him. He was presently followed by Pole, in the character of Legate; another Parliament was assembled; and now the reconciliation to the See of Rome was consummated by a number of laws, the most important of which was for the restoration to the Pope of the ecclesiastical supremacy. It had been contemplated even to re-invest the Church with the estates of which it had been deprived by the Reformation, and the proposal would have been made to this Parliament but for the prudence of Gardiner.

The Queen seemed now nearly to have attained to the height of her wishes, and, to crown her satisfaction, imagined herself to be pregnant. Her consort, if deficient in genuine tenderness, used at present towards her that scrupulous attention which in highly bred persons so nearly resembles it that only the most refined sentiment can make the distinction. He had successfully courted popularity by several acts of beneficence, in particular by procuring the release of Elizabeth from confinement, and the prejudices against him seemed to wear gradually away. Mary, however, was not yet content. She had the misfortune to live in an age, when the cruel punishment of offenders against any mode of faith which had acquired a distinct denomination seems to have been considered by the professors of that faith as a religious duty, for all agreed in inflicting it. Her temper, too, which is said not to have been of the best, was perhaps somewhat disposed to revenge, and the reformers had not spared provocation. She unhappily determined to put into execution some penal laws with which her new Parliament had lately armed her. Of her two chief counsellors in ecclesiastical affairs, Pole is said to have dissuaded Gardiner to have urged her forward. A persecution, truly so called, of the protestants ensued, from the detail of which, as it is perhaps more generally known than that of any other prominent part of our history, I wholly forbear,

observing only that in its progress two hundred and seventy-seven persons of various ranks, among whom five were bishops, are reckoned to have perished at the stake, not to mention multitudes who were punished by fine, imprisonment, or confiscation.

Mary's supposed pregnancy now proved to be no more than a manifestation of disease, and her consequent vexation was aggravated by the immediate departure for Flanders of Philip, whom she had for some months past with difficulty persuaded to remain with her till after her expected delivery. Her affection for him was so extravagant that it seemed but to increase in proportion to his growing indifference, of which she had now frequent proofs. The celebrated resignation of his father at this precise period had made him the most powerful and wealthy monarch in Europe, but, instead of imparting to her any share of his advantages, he suffered her to fall into necessities, and to disgrace herself by acts of rapacity for relief. He refused or neglected her most trifling requests, and seldom deigned even the courtesy of replying to her fond letters. The death of Gardiner, not long after Philip left her, filled up the measure of her chagrin, and she fell into a deep melancholy. She had however still strength of mind enough to struggle faintly against it. She plunged into public business: made many requests of the commons, which were either refused, or granted only in part; and dissolved another Parliament. She re-established and endowed several religious houses; and devoted herself with increased earnestness to the restoration of her religion. A plot to depose her, and to place Elizabeth on the throne, was now discovered, and two of the conspirators were officers of the household of the Princess. Elizabeth, once more in danger, was again saved by the interference of Philip, to whom, since the recent marriage of the Dauphin to Mary Queen of Scots, who stood next to her in succession to the English Crown, her life had become peculiarly valuable. The King of France, who had included Mary in his hatred to Spain, was discovered to have been privy to this conspiracy, as well as to various schemes by Mary's self-banished

protestant subjects, for surprising some of the English garrisons on the French coast, and to a late impotent invasion by them on the coast of Yorkshire. Philip, long desirous to chastise him, took the advantage of his consort's irritation at these injuries to persuade her to join him in a war against France, and for that purpose made her once more a visit, which she had been long vainly soliciting.

Mary and her Council readily agreed to the proposal. A powerful English fleet presently ranged itself on the French coast, and seven thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, were despatched to join Philip's army, which in the very opening of the campaign, gained the signal victory of St. Quentin, where the celebrated old Constable de Montmorency, who commanded in chief, and many other of the prime nobility of France, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This event was so unexpected, and, on many accounts, so important, that the news was received at Paris not only with deep regret, but even with terror. Great exertions were made to prepare that capital itself for an attack, and the King despatched orders to the Duke of Guise to return instantly from Italy, with the army which he commanded there. He came, and exacted from Mary a heavy retribution indeed for the share which she had taken in the infliction of the late disgrace on his country. By a series of artifices, planned and executed with the most profound military skill of his time, he enabled himself to appear most unexpectedly before Calais, while a number of ships which were cruising on the coast, apparently for the purpose of watching the motions of the English at sea, collected together at an appointed time, and attacked it on that side. Military history has few examples of a surprise at once so sudden and so successful; and thus was lost to England in eight days, in the depth of winter, that important fortress, with its valuable dependencies, which she had held for two centuries, not less to the gratification of her national pride than to the service of her public interests.

Mary, who had been long afflicted with dropsy, was gradually

sinking when this sad event happened. It afflicted her most severely, and is said to have hastened her dissolution. This report, however, probably arose from the well-known observation which she uttered on her death-bed, that if her breast were opened, the word "Calais" would be found written on her heart, for she survived till the seventeenth of November, 1558, ten months after the occurrence of the misfortune.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET.

OB. 1563.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA.

Lon. Published Dec[illegible] 1[illegible] by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET.

THE character of this eminent statesman was drawn, about sixty years after his death, by a writer who sometimes sacrificed the sacred veracity of biography to his love of that forcible and terse method of expression in which he excelled, and whom therefore I never quote, unless his assertions can be supported by the genuine evidence of history. "His education," says Lloyd, "was better than his birth, his knowledge higher than his education, his parts above his knowledge, and his experience beyond his parts. A general learning furnished him for travel, and travel seasoned him for employment. His masterpiece was an inward observation of other men, and an exact knowledge of himself. His address was with state, yet insinuating; his discourse free, but weighed; his apprehension quick, but stayed; his ready and present mind keeping its pauses of thoughts and expressions even with the occasion and the emergency; neither was his carriage more stiff and uncompliant than his soul." The eulogist might have added, without hazard of contradiction, that a more faithful and honest minister never existed.

He owed nothing to the influence either of ancestry or wealth, but sprang from a very private family in Staffordshire, from whence his father, a native of Wednesbury, in that county, migrated to London, and obtained there the office of Serjeant at Mace in the corporation. William, his eldest son, the subject of this memoir, was born in that city in 1506, and commenced his education in St. Paul's school, under the celebrated Lilly, from

whence he was removed to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge. At this early period of his life, the foundation of his future eminence was laid. By some means, long since forgotten, he became known to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, perhaps not only the first scholar, as well as the most acute statesman of his time, but a zealous cultivator also of those more elegant branches of literature which were then little professed in England. He was received into the family of that prelate, and, after a time, sent under his auspices to complete his education in the University of Paris, from whence he returned again into the Bishop's house. Bred under the wing of Gardiner, it is not strange that he should have contracted a strong attachment to the ancient faith of his country. He practised it, under all the extraordinary varieties of its fortune which distinguished his time, with inflexible constancy, but with a mildness and moderation towards its opponents which marked the goodness of his heart.

In 1530, then but at the age of twenty-four, the King, doubtless through the recommendation of Gardiner, sent him into France, to collect the opinions of the most learned and experienced jurists of that kingdom on the great question of the proposed divorce, and rewarded him on his return with the appointment of a Clerk of the Signet, which was afterwards confirmed to him for his life. He seems to have been no otherwise employed till 1537, when he was despatched with great privacy, into Germany, to foment the discord which then subsisted between the Emperor and the Protestant Princes, and to endeavour to persuade them to refer their differences to the mediation of Henry, and the King of France. In 1541 the offices of Clerk of the Privy Council, and Clerk of the Signet, were conferred on him, as was soon after that of Clerk of the Parliament for life; in the following year he was sent ambassador into France; and in 1543, in which year he was knighted, was appointed one of the two principal Secretaries of State. His distinguished skill, however, in foreign diplomacy confined him chiefly to that line of public service during the remainder of

Henry's reign. In the summer of 1545 he negotiated, in concert with the Chancellor Wriothesley, and the Duke of Suffolk, the terms of the marriage of the Princess Margaret to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, and many other important matters relative to Scotland, and was soon after joined in commission with the Earl of Hertford to manage that treaty with France, which for the time was rendered fruitless by the French King's positive demand of the restitution of Boulogne. In the succeeding June, however, the peace was concluded, chiefly under his direction. Henry, who survived that important act but for a few months, appointed Sir William Paget an executor to his Will, and one of the council to his minor successor.

The strict intimacy and confidence in which he had long lived with the Earl of Hertford, uncle to the young King, and now Protector of him, and of the realm, opened to him a new channel of favour. He was chosen a Knight of the Garter on Edward's accession, and soon after resigned his office of Secretary of State, and was appointed comptroller of the Royal Household, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: a singular exchange, which we may probably ascribe to the inconvenient interruptions to the duties of a Secretary of State which must have arisen from his frequent nomination to foreign missions. He was in fact despatched within very few months to the Emperor, in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, to persuade that Prince to join in an alliance against France, and, though the negotiation wholly failed, left that court with a splendour of general reputation which perhaps no other foreign minister in any time has enjoyed. Of this we have abundant proof in the letters of Sir Philip Hoby, then resident Ambassador there, extracts from which may be found in Strype's Memorials; and Lloyd, the writer lately quoted, tells us that Charles "once cried, in a rapture, that he deserved to be a king, as well as to represent one;" and, one day, as he came to court, "yonder is the man I can deny nothing to." A short extract from one of his letters to the Protector during his embassy, which is preserved in the Harleian MSS.

while it lets us somewhat into the character of his mind, seems to prove that he could not have purchased much of his favour at the court of Brussels by flattery. After having recited much at large some former conferences with the Emperor's ministers, he says—

"——The day following d'Arras, accompanied w^t^ Mons^r^ St. Maurice, came to my lodging, and, albeit I was the day before somewhat moved, yet, hoping thei had brought some resolution, I quieted myself; and after salutac̃ons, and wordes of office, I beganne to give ear what they wolde say; when sodainly d'Arras, after a great circumstance, and many goodly painted wordes, entred th' excuse of my longe abode here w^t^out answere to my charge, w^ch^ he affirmed was occasioned by th' Emp^or's^ busines abowte the Prince's swearing in thies townes; and praied us therefore on his Ma^te's^ behalf, to take pacience untill his coming to Brusselles, when, without faile, he said I sholde be dispatched. W^ch^ when I hearde, and p̃ceving, in steade of the resoluc̃on and answer that I looked for, to be only fed w^t^ faire wordes, I must confesse unto yo^r^ Grace I colde not keepe pacience, but, being entred somewhat into coler, answered him that I was now here at th' Emp^or's^ will and com̃andme̅t: He might stay me as long as it liked him, and dispache me when he liste: But, q^d^ I, were I once at home, I knowe that neither the King's Ma^tie^ wold sende me hither, nor I, for my part, to wynne an hundreth thousande crownes, come againe abowte einé like matter, considering how coldly the same hitherto proceaded; and suerly I am sorie that either ye sholde judge me so voide of wit that I colde not perceive whereunto this childishe excuse tendeth, or occasion me to suppose you so much w^t^out considerac̃on as to thinke I colde be brought to beleave that the Prince's swearing colde be eine' delay to the answering of thies things that I am come hither for; a matter easie inogh to be perceaved of such as never had einé experience of the worlde, etc. Hereunto d'Arras very coldly answered, that, in good faythe, the cause of my staye, whatsoever I thought, was onely such as he had shewed me, and therefore

praied me not to conceive any other opinion; for I assure you, q^d^ he, the Emp^or^ beareth the King, his good brother, as muche affec̃eon as if he were his sonn, and wolde gladly ayde and assiste him in all things to the uttermost that he maye conveniently: But, q^d^ he, thies matters are weightie, and require to be answered unto w^t^ deliberac̃on. Yf thei seemed as weightie unto you as ye speak, q^d^ I, I cannot judge but ye wolde er this time have spied out some time to answere unto them; and, as for th' Emp^or's^ assistance, my M^r^ requyrethe it not einé other waise then shall appere to be requisite and beneficial for both parties; and therefore, if the occasion of this long dely be uppon einé other considerac̃on then ye have yet declared unto us, I wolde wishe ye delte like frendes, and opened the same frankely: and I knowe, q^d^ I, that thies matters were concluded before Mons^r^ G.'s departure, w^ch^ maketh me more to muse why ye sholde so long stay from making reaport of yo^r^ answere," &c.

On his return from Brussels he was called by writ to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Paget, of Beaudesert, in Staffordshire, and was immediately after appointed a commissioner to treat for the accommodation of new differences which had arisen between England and France. But the feud between the Protector and Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, which had long divided Edward's court and council, had now risen to its height, and the former sunk under the boldness and the artifice of his mighty adversary. Lord Paget necessarily, for such was the custom of the time, shared in the misfortune of his friend. He was committed to the Fleet Prison on the twenty-first of October, 1551, and some weeks after removed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner, without a cause assigned, for five months, at the end of which he was divested of the Order of the Garter, on the ground of insufficiency of blood; charged with corruption and embezzlement in his office of the Duchy; and sentenced in the Star-chamber to a fine of six thousand pounds. These severities had no other object than to terrify the small remnant of the Protector's party into obedience till the power of the Duke of

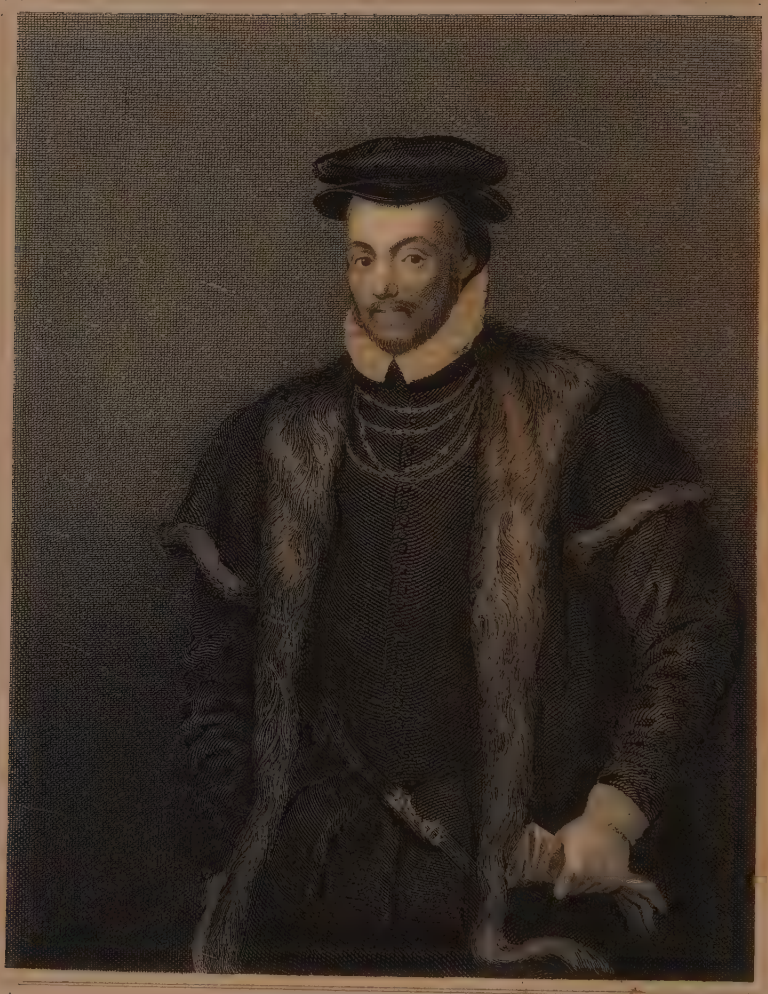
Northumberland should be firmly settled; for in December, 1552, Lord Paget obtained a general pardon, with the exception only of debts to the King, which was inserted but to save appearances, for it should seem that the fine with which he had been most unjustly charged was almost wholly remitted. It remained, however, to Mary to restore to him the Garter, which was done with great ceremony, at a chapter of the order held at St. James's, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1553, six weeks after she mounted the throne; when it appears to have been for the first time admitted, certainly to the honour of the order, that no objection on the score of birth ought to be allowed to supersede the claims of transcendent personal merit.

Mary, indeed, could not but have been prompted to favour him, equally by her interests and her prejudices. He had appeared among the first to assert her disputed title to the throne, and had hastened to her presence to give her the earliest notice of her having been proclaimed Queen in London. He had been persecuted by her bitterest enemies, and was distinguished by the most stedfast adherence to that faith the maintenance of which was unhappily the first object of her life. She received him into her utmost confidence. He was appointed to manage the treaty of her marriage with Philip of Spain; was sent Ambassador, immediately after, to the Emperor his father, to agitate certain points tending to the re-establishment of the papal authority in England; and, soon after his return, was appointed Lord Privy Seal. Though a warm advocate for the Spanish match, which indeed had been chiefly planned by himself and his old friend Gardiner, he entertained a becoming jealousy of Philip, and expressed it, when necessary, with a bold and honourable frankness. That Prince, who undoubtedly meditated by marrying Mary to make himself master of England, had applied to the Parliament, when she was supposed to be pregnant, for an act to constitute him Regent till the child should be of age to govern; and proposed to give security for his surrender of the Regency when that period might arrive. The motion, which had

been largely debated in the House of Peers, was likely to be carried, when Lord Paget suddenly rose, and said, "Pray who shall sue the King's bond?" These few words changed the temper of the House, and it was negatived.

On the accession of Elizabeth, he withdrew himself voluntarily from the public service. That Princess, says Camden, "entertained an affection and value for him, though he was a strict zealot of the Romish Church." After six years of retirement, he died on the ninth of June, 1563, and was buried, according to the direction of his will, at Drayton, in Middlesex. Fuller, who is frequently incorrect, informs us that he was very aged, but the inscription on a superb monument erected to his memory in Lichfield Cathedral, which was destroyed in the general wreck of the interior of that church in the grand rebellion, states, according to a copy preserved in the family of Hatton, that he died in his fiftieth year.

Lord Paget married Anne, daughter and heir of Henry Preston, a descendant of the house of Preston, of Preston in Yorkshire, by whom he had four sons, and six daughters. Henry, the eldest, died without issue, having only for five years enjoyed his father's dignity and estates, which then fell to Thomas, the second son, lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Uxbridge. That nobleman, together with his next brother, Charles, was deeply engaged in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and was attainted in 1587, and restored by James, immediately on his accession. Edward, the fourth son, died young. For the daughters, Etheldreda was married to Sir Christopher Allen; Joan, to Sir Thomas Kitson; Anne, to Sir Henry Lee; Eleanor, first to Jerome Palmer, secondly to Sir Rowland Clerk; Dorothy, to Thomas, a son of Sir Henry Willoughby, of Wollaton, in Nottinghamshire; and Grizel, first to Sir Thomas Rivet, and then to Sir William Waldegrave.



Engraved by P. Laghi fecit

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

OB. 1564.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF GUILFORD.

London, Published [illegible] by Leopard Pall Mall East

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

EDWARD NORTH, the founder of a house in which it is difficult to find a single individual undistinguished by wisdom or wit, or stained by any memorable fault or error, was the only son of Roger North, a younger brother of a respectable family, which had seated itself in the reign of Edward the fourth at Walkingham, in Nottinghamshire, by Christian, daughter of Richard Warcup, of Sconington, in Kent, and was born about the year 1496. He lost his father, who was in some mercantile profession, and seems to have been an inhabitant of London, in 1509, and, probably because he was too young to follow the same calling, was placed in a course of studies to qualify him for the practice of the law, which he finished at Peter-house in the University of Cambridge. He soon acquired a considerable reputation at the bar, and was appointed, while yet a very young man, advocate for the city of London. It is very likely that his interest with that corporation might have been forwarded by an Alderman of the name of Wilkinson, who had married one of his sisters; and still more probable that he was first introduced to the ministers of Henry the eighth by Thomas Burnet, Auditor of the Exchequer, who was the husband of another. However this might have been, it is certain that in 1531 he was made one of the two joint Clerks of the Parliament, an office then of such respectability that it was frequently held in that reign by men of the first rank in public employment. Four years afterwards he was called to the station of one of the King's Sergeants at law; in 1541 resigned his clerkship of the Parliament, and was appointed Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations; and in the following year was knighted, and elected a representative for the county of Cambridge.

The Court of Augmentations was a temporary establishment instituted upon the dissolution of religious houses, and was so named from the augmentation of the income of the Crown by the assumption of their property, of all matters concerned in which it had the superintendence. The most consummate integrity, and the most vigilant application, were requisite in those who were to receive suddenly this enormous influx of various wealth, and to methodize and direct a new system of revenue. For the performance of these duties Henry chose Sir Edward North, and in 1545 nominated him to the office of Chancellor of that Court, jointly with Sir Richard Rich, on whose resignation, a few months after, the sole jurisdiction devolved on him. He was now called to the Privy Council, and distinguished by a degree of favour and confidence enjoyed by very few of Henry's servants in those years of caprice and cruelty which closed that Prince's reign. Indeed his character and temper seem to have well qualified him to deal with the extravagances of such a master, for his prudence was perhaps of the sort usually called worldly wisdom, and his compliance approached to servility; but those faults appear to have been the consequences rather of a timid than a selfish disposition, since there is good reason to believe that his public conduct was eminently disinterested, and his honesty was not only unimpeached, but unsuspected. Had his conscience been less nice, or his nature more daring, he might have amassed immense wealth: he contented himself however with the fair emoluments of his office, and with grants, comparatively to no great amount, of abbey lands. Henry left him a final token of esteem by appointing him one of the executors of his will, and a counsellor to the infant Edward.

In the short reign of that Prince, he remained a wary and passive observer of the party contests by which it was agitated; and when the King's death produced a crisis in which no man of his degree could stand neuter, he espoused the pretensions to the Crown which had been forced on the unfortunate Jane Grey, and was one of the Privy Counsellors who signed a letter to Mary, declaring their allegiance to her unwilling rival. For some reason of policy, however, long since forgotten, Mary, on her

accession to the throne, not only received him into her Privy Council, but on the seventeenth of February, 1553, O. S. the first year of her reign, summoned him to Parliament, by the title of Baron North of Kirtling, now called Catlage, in the county of Cambridge, which till that period he had continued to represent in the House of Commons. In this and the following reigns we find him also rather in the character of a courtier than a statesman. That Elizabeth held him in some degree of favour is proved by her having conferred on him, in her second year, the office of Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely, but she employed him in no other public capacity.

He was now verging on old age, and in declining health. On the twentieth of March, 1564, O. S. he made his will, and here, as in all the rest, left abundant proof of the caution which seems to have been the leading feature of his character, by the creation of an entail, equally remarkable, considering the custom of his time in such matters, for its strictness and extent; for the terms in which it is expressed; and for his exhortations to his heir "to beware of pride, and prodigal expences." The same spirit directed him in matrimonial choice. His first wife, whom he married when a young man, was the widow of two husbands, but very wealthy; Alice, daughter of Oliver Squyer, of Southby, in Hampshire, who had been first married to Edward, son of Sir John Myrffin, an Alderman of London, and, secondly, to John Brigadin, of Southampton: His second, who survived him till 1575, was even in her third widowhood; Margaret, daughter of Richard Butler, of London; who, as we are informed by her epitaph in the chancel of St. Laurence Jewry, had been successively wife to Andrew Francis; Robert Chartsey, an Alderman; and Sir David Brooke, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. By her he had no issue; but his first Lady brought him two sons, and two daughters: Roger, his successor, a nobleman of distinguished high spirit and bravery; and Sir Thomas, who was bred a lawyer, but is better remembered as the translator of Plutarch's Lives, Guevara's Horologium Principum, and for other literary labours. The daughters were Christian, married to William Somerset, third

Earl of Worcester; and Mary, to Henry, Lord Scroope of Bolton. Lord North died, at his house in the Charter-house, London, on the thirty-first of December, 1564, and was buried in the chancel of the parish Church of Kirtling, or Catlage.

Some account of the life of this nobleman was written, "sensibly, and in a good style," as Lord Orford observes, and published by his great-great-grandson, Dudley, fourth Lord North. From that small work, which is composed with the pardonable partiality of a descendant, I will give a short extract, which points to the portrait here engraved, and furnishes some circumstances which ought to have a place in this memoir. "By his picture," says Dudley, "whereof there is yet a copy remaining, he appears to have been a person of a moderate stature, somewhat inclined to corpulency, and a reddish hair. As to his character, it can only appear from what has been said of him; and his letters shew he rather affected the delivery of a full and clear sense, than any curiosity of style or expression. The bravery of his mind may be best judged of by his delight to live in an equipage rather above than under his condition and degree; and by his magnificence in buildings, which were very noble for materials and workmanship, as may appear by the two houses he set up at Kirtling and Charter-house. His piety, charity, and love of learning, is evident from his bestowing the parsonage of Burwell on the University of Cambridge, as also the vicarage of Burwell; and to Peter-house, the ancientest College of that University, as a token of gratitude for what he gathered there in the way of learning, the parsonage of Ellington. He provided chapels in such houses he built, which shews a desire in him of an assiduity in the service of God by himself and family; which care of providing peculiar places for divine service within families was too much neglected in the following age, as may be witnessed by many great and stately houses then built. He also built a chapel for the interment of his posterity, adjoining to the south part of the chancel in Kirtling Church; for, though the main superstition was expired, yet burials in those days were attended with the performance of much religious duty."

Engraved by H. Robinson

HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY,

KING OF SCOTLAND.

OB. 1567.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE LATE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

London Published Dec^r 1. 1836. by Harding & Lepard. Pall Mall East

HENRY STUART,

(LORD DARNLEY,)

KING OF SCOTLAND.

It would be impertinent, especially in such a work as this, to endeavour to treat the story of this weak and insignificant young man's life with historical or political exactness. All the public importance which belonged to him fell on him as by reflexion, and, although he was the first cause of several great events, he was an active instrument in none. Suddenly raised to an empty regal title by a passion which did not deserve the name of love; doated on, despised; the object at once of idolatry, and of fear and jealousy; without judgment to ward off the dangers with which the perverseness of his fate surrounded him, and without temper to bear the contempt to which the imbecility of his character exposed him; as he rose without merit, so he fell unpitied, and, but for collateral circumstances, would have been long since wholly forgotten.

He was of royal descent, and nearly enough related both to Elizabeth and Mary to awaken and justify the caution and vigilance of each. His father was Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox; his mother, Margaret, daughter to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, by Queen Margaret, sister of our Henry the Eighth, who married that nobleman soon after the death of her first husband, James the Fourth of Scotland. Lennox, when a young man, had

been compelled to take refuge in the Court of Henry by the fury of the Hamilton faction, from whose head, the Duke of Chatelherault, he had attempted to wrest the regency of Scotland in the early infancy of Mary. The illustrious match which he made there, and the distractions of his own country, where he was attainted, had detained him for many years in England, and there his eldest son, Henry, was born and educated. Elizabeth, on her accession, found this distinguished family quietly seated in her dominions, and treated them with an urbanity and respect in the motives to which her policy with regard to Scotland was not overlooked. The prime object of that policy at the period of which we are about to speak, was the prevention of the marriage of Mary, and she pursued it with the dissimulation and artifice which invariably marked her conduct towards that unhappy Princess. She affected to press for it, even with anxiety, and, among those whom she proposed to Mary, as worthy of her hand, was Lord Darnley, for by that title, one of his father's, Henry was then designated.

Mary had long endeavoured, and very prudently, to gain the friendship of the family of Lennox: she lent, therefore, a willing ear to this recommendation. Lennox and his son obtained Elizabeth's permission to visit Scotland, and in the month of February, 1565, waited on Mary, then on a progress in the shire of Fife, at Wemyss. She had never before seen Darnley. He was in the twenty-first year of his age; a pattern of masculine beauty both in face and person, and accomplished to perfection in all the niceties of artificial politeness. She beheld him in the instant with all the infatuation of a doating lover; determined almost as suddenly to give him her hand; and presently intimated to her Court a resolution of which her conduct towards the youthful stranger had already in some measure apprised them. The match however was delayed by various circumstances. Elizabeth now opposed it even with fury; dispatched a mandate for Darnley's instant return; and chastised his disobedience to it by seizing his father's English estates, and imprisoning his mother and brother, who had remained in London. The most

powerful among the protestant Peers of Scotland, at her incitement, conspired to possess themselves by violence of his person; were discovered; and fled into England before a military force. It was necessary too to obtain the approbation of the main body of the Scottish nobility, and some time was lost in their deliberations, and much more in the result of them—the sending to Rome for a dispensation the parties being within the prohibited degrees of kindred. These obstacles however were finally removed, and on the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth of July they were married, and on the following day publicly proclaimed, by the styles of Henry and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland.

Mary, deeply enamoured as she was, could not have been wholly insensible of Darnley's defects. It is even possible that the very contemplation of them increased her anxiety to hasten her marriage. Determined at all events to possess him, she dreaded perhaps that himself might prevent it by some act of folly or violence too gross to admit of extenuation, and suffered herself to be deluded by the excess of her passion into the vanity of believing that her influence in the joint relations of a Queen, a wife, and a lover, might in future restrain such excesses. He had already fallen into serious errors. Several of the prime nobility had been disgusted by his insolent anticipation of the airs of royalty; he had joined a faction against the Earl of Murray, Mary's illegitimate brother, and the leader of the Scottish reformers, whose good-will it was peculiarly important to him to cultivate; and in the mean time had disgraced himself by forming a strict intimacy with Mary's secretary for French affairs, the Italian Rizzio, a man of mean birth and habits, whom her imprudent favour had rendered an object of indignant jealousy in the Court, as well as of popular hatred; he had betrayed a temper even ferocious, in drawing his dagger on a nobleman sent to apprise him that the Queen, in order to temporize with Elizabeth, wished to defer for a while his creation of Duke of Albany, a royal title to which she raised him shortly before their marriage.

The short civil war which, at the instigation of Elizabeth, the

exiled protestant Peers returned to raise, presently followed the nuptials. It had little concern with Henry's barren story beyond the simple fact that he was the incidental and passive cause of it. Mary's complete success in the issue of it afforded him a triumph over the House of Hamilton, the ancient enemies of his family, peculiarly gratifying to such a mind as his; and when the Duke of Chatelherault, who had been among the subdued malcontents, humbly sued for a pardon, he opposed it with furious vehemence, and prevailed on the Queen to qualify it by compelling the Duke to reside in France. Mary's condescension in this, and other affairs, served but to increase his desire of powers which he was incapable to wield. They had been married scarcely three months when he beset her with incessant importunities that he might be declared to possess the Crown Matrimonial, an obscure phrase peculiar to the Scottish regal law, which denoted however a degree of authority nearly co-ordinate with that of the reigning princess. This it was not in Mary's power to confer but jointly with the Parliament, the consent of which it would have been dangerous to ask, yet he could not brook the disappointment. Domestic quarrels followed. He neglected her person; avoided her society; and fell into unbecoming vices, while that insuperable anger which flows peculiarly from ill-requited love took full possession of her breast, and it was only her contempt of his weakness that spared him from her pure hatred. The short space of seven months sufficed to produce and consummate this excess of contrary passions in the mind of Mary.

The King, unable to act, or at least to think, for himself, soon felt the inconvenience of these commotions. He sought for advice, or rather for support, in the counsels of Rizzio, and was met by cold remonstrances on his own misconduct. No great measure of craft was necessary to induce that foreigner to adopt a course so generally reasonable, as well as so evidently suited to the maintenance of his own interests. Henry however conceived the most rancorous enmity towards him, and presently found

himself unexpectedly at the head of a party whose support he could have little right to expect, and whose attachment to him could scarcely be sincere. It consisted of the Chancellor Morton, and several other powerful Peers, most of them related to him in blood, and all offended by the disappointment, which they ascribed to his weakness or negligence, of that rule in the affairs of Scotland which they had expected to found on his marriage. He readily accepted them as friends, and in the gratification of making him an instrument in the destruction of Rizzio, they forgot for the time their resentment towards himself. They spared no arguments to mortify his pride, or to increase his anger. They aggravated the extent of the Italian's influence in public affairs, and his own insignificance, which they represented as a necessary consequence of that influence. They asserted that he owed to Rizzio's intrigues and malice the denial to him of the Crown Matrimonial. They raised at length in him that maddening flame which of all others is the most easily kindled in the weakest minds—they persuaded him that Mary was unfaithful to his bed, and that Rizzio was her paramour. Thus excited, Henry proposed, or at least eagerly agreed, that he should be taken off by assassination. A treaty was regularly concluded between the King and the rest, by which they promised him the Crown Matrimonial, and the independent succession to the Throne, should he outlive the Queen, while he engaged to avow himself, should it become necessary, the author of the conspiracy, and to protect those who had undertaken to act in it.

The evening of the ninth of March, 1566, was appointed for the consummation of the bloody enterprise, and never was murder perpetrated with more savage ferocity, nor marked by stronger proofs of national barbarism. It was known that Rizzio was to sup with the Queen, who was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and Henry was anxious that he should die in her presence. The Chancellor Morton personally headed the band of soldiers who secured the avenues to the palace, and the King

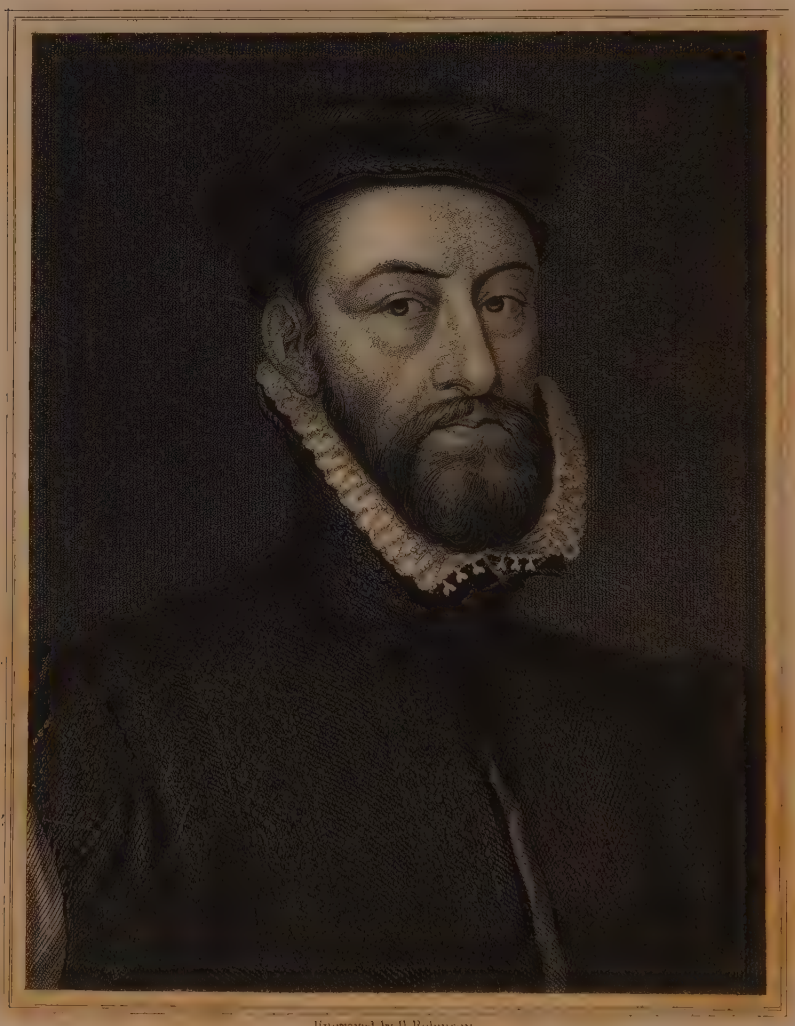
himself led the assassins into Mary's chamber. To complete the horror of the preparations, Lord Ruthven, the King's uncle, who was appointed to strike the first blow, had risen for that purpose from his bed, where he had been long confined by dangerous illness, and followed Henry, led by two men, and covered with armour, except his face, in which a pallid ghastliness was enlivened only by gleams of furious expression. On their entrance, Rizzio started from his seat, and clung to the person of the Queen, behind whose chair, Henry, silent and irresolute, had taken his station; but Ruthven, drawing his dagger, commanded his followers to tear the devoted victim from his sanctuary, and, in dragging him into the adjoining room, he perished, pierced by fifty-six wounds. Murray and his exiled companions, who had been previously apprised of the murderous plan, entered Edinburgh triumphantly on the following day, and Mary was compelled not only to receive them with an affected complacency, but also to admit into her presence Morton and Ruthven, and to promise them a pardon on their own terms.

Incredible as it may seem, such was the address of Mary, and the weakness and perfidy of her consort, that even on the succeeding day, the eleventh of March, she persuaded him to quit the capital privately with her, and to break all the engagements by which he had so lately bound himself to her enemies. They fled to Dunbar, situated in a country deeply devoted to her, and were presently surrounded by a formidable military host, at the head of which they returned towards Edinburgh; Henry, on the way, issuing proclamations, in which he disavowed all knowledge of the late enormity, and denounced vengeance against the assassins, who had already again fled into England, then, as still, the land of certain refuge for foreign public offenders. This treachery, however, though used against those whom she detested, served but to increase the odium in which she already held him. Once more in a state of comparative security, she stripped him of all authority, estranged herself almost entirely from his society, and abandoned him with manifest indifference to the company of

some almost unknown persons in whose debaucheries he had been used to share. His resentment was at length roused, and the proofs which he gave of it were such as might have been expected from him, fraught with childish folly, caprice, and indecision. He endeavoured to interest foreign potentates in his behalf, besought them to receive him into their dominions, and was neglected by them. He refused to be present at the pompous baptism of his son, and endeavoured to enrage the Queen by other petty insults. In the mean time Mary's heart, if it may be so said, declared for a new favourite, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, a man whose character had no point of resemblance to that of her husband but one—a total want of principle. With him, painful as it is to be obliged to reject all doubt on such a subject, it cannot be reasonably denied that she concerted means of depriving Henry of life.

The King had for many weeks resided at Stirling, neglected and almost in solitude, when a rumour suddenly reached him of a design to imprison him. He fled instantly towards Glasgow, where his father was at the time, and was seized on his way thither by a distemper, so violent as to render his case for many days utterly hopeless. Mary, by whom he had never been visited during this extremity, on his amendment, and arrival at Glasgow, flew thither, with every profession and appearance of conjugal tenderness; attended him constantly as his nurse; and, as soon as he was able to bear the journey, persuaded him to remove to Edinburgh. He was carried thither in a litter, and lodged, not in the Palace, but under the pretences of obtaining better air and more quiet, in a house, then in the suburbs, belonging to the provost of a collegiate church, called Kirk of Field. There Mary's assiduities were increased. She seldom left him during the day, and sometimes slept in the chamber under that in which he lay. His fears and suspicions, and peevish humours, were lulled to rest, and the endearments of their bridal days seemed to be revived, when, on Sunday the ninth of February, 1567, N.S.,

the Queen left him about eleven at night, to be present at a masque in the palace, and at two the next morning the house in which he lay was blown up with gunpowder. The bodies of the King, and of the servant who slept in his chamber, were found at a little distance, perfect, and without any marks of fire, or of violence.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY.

(REGENT OF SCOTLAND.)

OB. 1570.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

March 1 1830 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JAMES STUART,

EARL OF MURRAY,

For so invariably do we find him denominated by that style in all historical authorities, as well printed as manuscript, that it might create confusion were we to adopt here a modern affectation of strict correctness, and call him Earl of Moray, according to the usage of his noble successors of later years, founded on the latinized title, "Comes Moraviæ," in the document by which his Earldom was conferred.

He was one of the several illegitimate children of King James the Fifth of Scotland, and his mother was Margaret, daughter of John Erskine, fifth Earl of Mar, and afterwards wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven. He was born in the year 1533, and intended, after the usual royal fashion of Scotland in providing for such issue, for the ecclesiastical profession. The rich priory of St. Andrews, and several other benefices, were accordingly conferred on him while in his cradle, and he was afterwards appointed Prior of Macon, in France. In 1548 he accompanied the infant Mary, who was nine years younger than himself, to the court of Paris, where he presently imbibed all the refinements which distinguished it; became enamoured of political and military science; and cultivated so assiduously and so generally the fine talents which nature had bestowed on him, that he became versed in a variety of knowledge far beyond the scope of the best education of that time. To all these qualifications, acquired too in a court never remarkable for the purity of its

manners, he is said to have joined a reverence towards religion, and a strict decency of moral conduct, always rare in persons of his age and rank.

He remained several years in France, for it should seem from circumstances that he returned not till 1556, a period rendered peculiarly interesting by the discord of parties, civil and religious, and by the jealousy entertained of the French interest in Scotland, which was cherished and represented by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, who wielded the regency. He stood aloof for a long time, seemingly to consider and digest in his mind the posture of affairs before he engaged in them. He was however at length nominated by the Parliament one of the eight commissioners deputed to negotiate the treaty of marriage between Mary and the Dauphin, and to represent the Scottish nation at the celebration of the nuptials, which occurred on the fourteenth of April, 1558. In the mean time he adhered to, or at least left unopposed, the measures of the Queen Regent, with a gradually increasing bias however to the cause of the reformers, who had now become a formidable party in the state, and who had been driven into insurrection by some late instances of persecution. The Regent levied an army to chastise them, but was prevailed on to negotiate, and appointed the Lord James, as he was then called, together with the Earl of Argyll, her commissioners for that purpose. A treaty was concluded, every article of which was broken by her as soon as the insurgents had disbanded, and Murray resented her abandonment of faith by promptly and openly joining "the Lords of the Congregation," a denomination by which the chiefs of the Protestants had thought fit to distinguish themselves. His talents, his virtues, and his courage, presently placed him at their head, and rendered him the idol of the whole party. The Regent became alarmed at the formidable attitude in which he was thus suddenly placed, and, having vainly endeavoured by splendid offers to detach him from his associates, strove, with no better success, to insinuate to them that he secretly entertained a design to usurp the throne. The

reformers now again took up arms, and he appeared among them with a distinct military command, but the death of the Regent, in the summer of 1560, saved Scotland for the time from the horrors of a civil war. A few days before it occurred she solicited an interview with him; confessed to him the errors of her government; and took leave of him in cordial reconciliation.

His half sister, Mary, the regnant Queen of Scotland, and Queen Consort in France, became a widow towards the conclusion of the same year, and a Convention of Estates appointed him to wait on her with their solicitations for her return to her kingdom, from which she had now been absent for twelve years. In this visit he laid the ground of a system, if not of favour, at least of forbearance with respect to the reformers, and after her arrival, obtained through his influence over them, though with some difficulty, an engagement for the unmolested worship of God in her family according to the ancient faith. He now held, as might have been expected, the first place in her favour, and presently became an object of envy. The Duke of Chatelherault, first prince of the blood, and with him the whole House of Hamilton, and the Earl of Huntly, one of the most powerful among the leaders of the Catholic party, became, from different motives, his enemies. The intemperance of the latter plunged him into open rebellion, and he fell in the field, in the sight of Murray, who had opposed himself to him, at the head of a small body of troops, his skill and bravery in the command of which gave an ample earnest to his country of the extent of his military talents.

Murray might now be said to govern the kingdom. The most perfect cordiality subsisted between the Queen and himself, and their agreement was beheld by all, except the parties just mentioned, without fear or jealousy. She seemed to submit herself wholly to his advice, and the peace of Scotland, for nearly three years, suffered no interruption but from the occasional turbulence of the reformers, when the appearance of Darnley in the character of a suitor for Mary's hand suddenly clouded the prospect in all

its parts. It was with Murray's consent that the Earl of Lennox and his son had been invited into Scotland, nor does it appear that he had in the beginning expressed any disapprobation of Mary's extravagant partiality towards Darnley, but he discovered soon after their arrival that they had secretly connected themselves with his enemies, and even that Darnley, in the folly of youth, had complained without reserve of the great extent of the Queen's favour towards him. He observed too that her regard for himself was declining, and an altered conduct towards him in the sycophants of the court convinced him that he was not mistaken. Too haughty to make remonstrances of doubtful success, and too generous to avail himself of the means of vengeance with which his popularity had armed him, he retired silently from the court. Mary, with all the winning persuasion which she eminently possessed, recalled him, and he obeyed the summons. She spared no efforts to pacify and to conciliate him, but she concluded by requesting him to sign a written approbation of her marriage with Darnley, which he steadfastly refused. From that hour an enmity, the more deadly for having succeeded to a friendship which had borne all the marks of sincerity, took place between them. Mary, if she did not encourage, took no pains to check, the fury of Darnley, which extended even to a methodized plan of assassination, while Murray concerted measures with a party, in which were some of his own bitter enemies, for seizing the person of that favoured youth, and conveying him a prisoner into England, which Mary prevented by a timely flight with him to a place of undoubted security.

Our Elizabeth, bred in a gloomy jealousy of Scotland, to which was added a positive hatred to the person of Mary, though perhaps not minutely apprised of the detail of this design, had spared no pains in fomenting the spirit in which it was conceived. Murray, blinded by his resentment, had condescended to listen to her secret overtures, and to engage himself unwarily in her measures against his country; while Mary sealed his determination by commencing against him a positive persecution. Three

days only after her marriage with Darnley, she issued a peremptory command, which she knew he durst not obey, for his immediate appearance at her court, and on his failure declared him an outlaw. At the same time she received into her favour, and even strict confidence, three powerful nobles, who were distinguished as his most implacable enemies, and levied troops with all expedition, to force him and his adherents from those strongholds in the Highlands where they had taken refuge, surrounded by their vassals, and anxiously waiting for aid from their new patroness, Elizabeth. That princess, it is true, now publicly interfered for them, especially for Murray, but in a mode purposely contrived to widen the breach. She remonstrated with Mary on the injustice of her conduct towards him, and justified the acts on his part by which it had been provoked. Encouraged by the countenance of so powerful an intercessor, and by the acquisition of a small sum which she had caused to be remitted to them, Murray and his adherents now appeared in arms. Mary in person marched at the head of her troops to meet them, and drove them before her from Dumfries to the borders, from whence Murray, and a very few of his principal companions, precipitately fled into England, to claim the protection which Elizabeth had given them so many reasons to expect at her hands. They long remained totally neglected by her, and at length Murray and another obtained with much difficulty an audience, on condition that they should deny, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, that Elizabeth had encouraged them to take up arms. They had no sooner made this declaration, than she addressed to them the most bitter reproaches; charged them with rebellion against their lawful Prince; and in a furious tone commanded them as traitors to quit her presence. She permitted them however to remain in England, to the northernmost part of which they immediately retired.

While this incredible piece of treachery was acting in London, Mary called a meeting of Parliament to proceed vigorously against the fugitives. Strong remonstrances however, in favour

of Murray, particularly from those who had been the leaders of the " congregation," induced her to pause. Elizabeth also again thought fit to add her instances, and Murray himself is improbably said to have been so far induced to forget his own dignity as to solicit and obtain the good offices of David Rizzio. At this precise period, however, Mary secretly joined the fearful conspiracy of France and Spain for the extermination of the Protestants in all their dominions, and Murray was too illustrious a victim to be spared. She again determined therefore to prosecute him with the utmost expedition and severity, when the strange event of the assassination of Rizzio, and its consequences, once more averted the execution of her vengeance, but excited considerations which suddenly rendered her immediate reconciliation with Murray prudent, if not necessary. The conspirators, Morton, Ruthven, and the rest, his old friends and partisans, had regularly apprised him, in his neighbouring exile, of the progress of their frightful enterprise, and of its success, and he arrived in Edinburgh on the evening following the murder, to join them in the desperate project which they had formed for extorting a pardon from the Queen. The great advantage which she might derive from the division of this powerful party instantly occurred to her, and she lost no time in attempting it. She received Murray, with those who had fled, and now returned, with him, in the most gracious manner, promised them an utter oblivion of their offences, and even a renewal of her favour, and Murray, with his friends, consented to abandon the assassins of Rizzio, who fled with precipitation into the foreign asylum which the others had so lately quitted. These matters occurred in the month of March, 1565-6.

A year succeeded, crowned with most extraordinary events, the relation of which belongs to the general history of Scotland, in which the name of Murray scarcely once occurs during that period. Among a few conditions on which his late reconciliation with Mary had been founded, was a solemn pledge given on his part to abstain from all acts of enmity against the Earl of Both-

well, between whom and himself a bitter discord had long subsisted, and this may in some measure account for his inaction in any of the dismal scenes which had their origin in the iniquitous ambition of that nobleman, and the scarcely less criminal weakness of the Queen. It has been even said, but improbably, that he recommended her to marry Bothwell. About the middle of the year he obtained permission to travel, and took up his residence in France, where he remained while a mighty combination of Nobles was forming for the deposition of Mary, and carrying its views into effect. That they were advised and animated by him from his retreat there can be little doubt, though history affords no clear proof of that fact. The infant James was now placed on the throne; Murray returned; and, with an affected reluctance, accepted the office of Regent on the twenty-third of August, 1567.

His very entrance on this high trust evinced a clearness of judgment, a consistency of action, and, if the expression may be allowed, a political morality, of neither of which the Scots of that day had seen any examples in their former governors. Before, however, his administration could assume a fixed character new distractions arose. Mary escaped from her confinement at Lochleven, and raised an army. Dismay and irresolution seized his adherents. They pressed him to negotiate or to retreat, but he remained unmoved, and, having disposed his inferior force to the best advantage, waited the attack which he knew he might expect from the Queen's impetuosity. The decisive battle of Langside followed, and the vanquished Mary fled into England, never to return. The Regent used his victory with mercy and moderation. Few had perished in the field, and none subsequently fell by the hands of the executioner. He was returning to the civil duties of his office when a new and unexpected call again withdrew him from them. Mary, who it is needless to say was now a prisoner, in the hands of Elizabeth, resolved to submit her cause to the judgment of that Princess, who readily accepted the jurisdiction, and required the Regent to defend his conduct towards his

Sovereign. Commissioners for the discussion were appointed on each side, and the celebrated conferences at York and Westminster ensued, the detail of which is so well known to historical readers that it would be idle were it possible to repeat any part of it in this necessarily superficial sketch. Suffice it therefore to say that the sound sense of Murray was baffled on every point by the deep artifice of Elizabeth and her ministers; and that even on the single question to which he had previously resolved never to give an explicit answer, namely, whether the Queen of Scots had been a party in the murder of her husband, he was at length drawn in to make a clear and definitive declaration.

Little more can be said of this eminent person. The short remainder of his life presents nothing to our view beyond the ordinary measures of good domestic government, which adorned the brief term of his administration, and procured for him the appellation of "the good Regent," by which he was long distinguished in Scotland. He perished by the hand of an assassin, of a junior line of that illustrious family with which he had been always at bitter variance; not in pursuance of that feud, nor for any public cause, but to avenge an injury purely private and personal. In riding through the high street of the town of Linlithgow, on the twenty-third of January, 1570, he was shot through the body by James Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, and died within a few hours after.

The Earl of Murray married, in February, 1561, Anne, eldest daughter of William Keith, fourth Earl Marischal, and afterwards wife to Colin Campbell, sixth Earl of Argyll. He had by her two daughters; Elizabeth, married to James Stewart, son of the Lord Doun; and Margaret, to Francis Hay, ninth Earl of Errol.

Engraved by H. T. Ryall

JOHN KNOX.

OB. 1572.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

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JOHN KNOX.

The life of an ecclesiastical reformer, a title always bestowed on those whose endeavours to overthrow a religious establishment have been crowned by success, requires many episodes to render it interesting to any others than those of his own profession. The journeyings, and preachings, and mortifications, and weepings, and raptures of such a person; nay, his very prophecies, unless some one of them should chance to be verified, which, for the best of all reasons, scarcely ever happens; can never attract general attention. To bespeak our regard he must have raised armies by the magic of his eloquence, hurled Kings from their thrones, annihilated civil systems, burned multitudes of persons, or must at least himself have been burned. Knox had none of these recommendations. He was a busy instrument in the propagation of a schism which would have worked its way, perhaps not quite so speedily, if he had never had existence. He was deputed to undermine by coarse and vulgar declamation a monarchy, the honour of pulling down which his employers intended to reserve to themselves. His brutal insolence to the Sovereigns under whom he lived never exalted itself to active rebellion; he suffered no punishment which could be deemed persecution, nor did his station afford him the power of persecuting others. His secret transactions and engagements with the eminent persons whom he joined in disturbing the peace of their country have never been discovered, and his history is almost wholly confined to the ravings of fanaticism and sedition.

Who were his parents is unknown, yet the fact of his having been descended from the ancient and respectable family of Knox of Renfarleigh, in the shire of Renfrew, is supported by such strong presumptions that it cannot be doubted. He was born in 1505, at a village called Giffard, in East Lothian, and having received his first instructions for the clerical profession at the grammar-school of the neighbouring town of Haddington, was removed to the University of St. Andrews, where he studied under the tuition of John Mair, an eminent teacher of the theology then in vogue, with such application and activity that he is said to have obtained the degree of Master of Arts while yet a youth, and to have been admitted into priest's orders before the age prescribed by ecclesiastical law. The subtilties, however, of school divinity were ill suited to the bold and inquisitive character of his mind, and he soon abandoned them for the study of the primitive fathers, in which he passed several years of severe application. At length the doctrines of the Reformation reached Scotland; he attached himself to a priest of the name of Williams, provincial of the Scottish Benedictines, who had not only translated the New Testament, but had publicly decried in his sermons the Pope's authority; and soon after, in 1544, renounced in form the Roman Catholic faith, and became the regular disciple of the famous George Wishart. He attended that more moderate pastor in his spiritual progresses till the commencement of the year 1546, when Wishart was put to death, and celebrated his memory in the usual strain which such writers apply to such subjects.

From his connexion with Wishart he derived considerable fame among the reformers, who began to consider and treat him as the head of their infant church. The Lairds of Ormeston and Langniddry, powerful men, who were then the chief temporal patrons of the new persuasion, appointed him tutor to their children, and he lived in their houses. Processes were at length issued against him, and he had resolved to fly to Germany, but those gentlemen persuaded him to take refuge in St. Andrews,

where the castle was then held by the persons who had lately assassinated in it Cardinal Beatoun, its owner. Knox, who had called that murder "a godly thing," which he repeats in his history, was received by them with joy. He expounded and catechised so hopefully that they declared "the gift of God to be in him," and called on him with one voice to assume the office of a public preacher, which, after long persuasion, he accepted, and presently after signalized himself by a sermon so furious that the new Primate instantly took measures to silence him. These, however, were prevented by the party in the castle, which in fact ruled the town; and the Catholics could do little beyond summoning Knox to a public disputation, to which he gladly agreed, and in which, as might be expected, we are told that he was completely successful. The whole city now embraced his doctrines; the church relinquished an opposition which in that place was utterly fruitless; and he remained there, with the merit at least of indefatigable application to his object, till July, 1547, when the castle was reduced by a French force, and he was put on board one of the galleys which brought it over, in which he remained on the coast of France a prisoner for two years.

In 1549 he was liberated, and came to London, where he obtained a licence to preach at Berwick, and soon after at Newcastle on Tyne, and repaired for that purpose into the north. During his residence there he received the appointment of a chaplain in ordinary to Edward the Sixth, as well as some rebukes for the extravagancy of certain of his tenets, and returned to London in the spring of 1553, where he refused to accept a living which the Privy Council had moved Archbishop Cranmer to bestow on him, and vilified the King's ministers in his sermons, under the names of Achitophel, Judas, &c. To have prosecuted him specifically for that insolence, might have been then very injurious to the progress of the Reformation; they endeavoured therefore to curb him by another method: he was cited before the Council to assign his reasons for refusing the benefice, with the view, probably, of provoking him into unlawful invectives

against the new establishment in England. His answers, though sufficiently proving his dissatisfaction with that system, were uttered with such caution that no safe ground could be taken whereon to institute any further proceeding against him, but he was dismissed with an admonition which, however gently delivered, determined him to exercise his vocation in the country, and he was preaching in the towns and villages of Buckinghamshire, to large congregations, probably attracted by the novelty of a dialect which must have been unintelligible to them, when the accession of Mary rendered it prudent for him to quit the kingdom. He embarked for Dieppe in February, 1554, N. S. and travelled from thence to Geneva, where he placed himself in the presence, and under the orders of his great spiritual principal, John Calvin.

Calvin presently deputed him to Frankfort, to minister to the English protestants who had fled from the violence of Mary, and settled in great numbers in that city; but his doctrines were even more offensive to these good people than those of the Church of Rome. Unwilling to engage in endless controversy with him, and unable to prevail on him to use the English Liturgy, they took a short method to disencumber themselves of him, accusing him of treason to the magistrates of the city, both against their sovereign the Emperor, and against Queen Mary; upon which the magistrates, aware that they could not avoid surrendering him to either of these Potentates who might demand his person, secretly apprised him of his danger, and he returned precipitately to Geneva, where he remained from March, 1555, till the following August, when he determined to visit again his native land. His transactions there, during the abode of a year, present little beyond the usual contents of the journal of any other itinerant preacher. It is true that the Scottish secession from Popery had assumed, during his long absence, the character of an important political implement, and his consequence had necessarily increased. The nobility of the Kirk, as it now began to be called, were the regular opponents of the Court and government of the

Queen Regent; Knox was too promising an agent to be neglected: and they courted his intimacy. They easily prevailed on him to affront that lady by addressing to her a letter, abusing the faith in which she had lived, and exhorting her to hear his sermons; and Mary, with great justice, called it a pasquinade. The Prelates at length cited him to answer for his conduct, and he obeyed by repairing to Edinburgh on the appointed day, and preaching there to the largest congregation that he had ever drawn together. No further steps however were taken against him while he remained in Scotland; yet in July, 1556, he once more returned to Geneva, and had no sooner disappeared than the Bishops again cited him, and, on his non-appearance, condemned him to death for heresy, and his effigy was burned in Edinburgh. In all this there was much of the air of a compromise.

In the summer of the following year the discontented Lords, conceiving that they had now gained sufficient strength to protect him against the government, pressed him to return to Scotland, and Calvin told him that to refuse would be "rebellion against God, and cruelty to his country;" so he set out on his journey, but when he had reached Dieppe, and was about to embark, he received letters, informing him that some leading persons in the party had begun to waver, and recommending it to him to halt for a time on the Continent. Knox appears to have been excited to great wrath by these intimations. He was prudent enough to take the advice of his friends, and returned to Geneva, doubtful of their sincerity, or their power, or both; but he answered the letters with denunciations of vengeance, uttered in a style of papal authority, against inconstancy in any of his disciples. He was sufficiently employed however in the good cause at Geneva, for he now wrote, and printed there, his invective against the sovereignty of females, with the awful title of "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women," the most remarkable of his works, aimed at once against his own Queen, and our Mary. He was preparing a second Blast, when the last named Princess died, and the accession of Elizabeth,

whose aversion to popery was well known, induced him to lay it aside. In contemplation of obtaining her furtherance he now determined to visit England, and wrote to Cecil for a licence to that end, which was peremptorily and scornfully refused. Knox discovered that his book had induced this repulse, and forced the Secretary into a correspondence on its merits, in which, however disgusting the insolence, and obstinacy, and mad fanaticism of the man, we cannot but admire his sincerity and courage.

To give one short extract from this most singular letter:— "If any think me," says he, "either enemy to the person, or yet to the regimen, of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge; and the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy to suppress such as fight against his glory) I will obey, albeit that both nature, and God's most perfect ordinance, repugn to such regimen. More plainly to speak, if Queen Elizabeth shall confess that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy maketh that lawful unto her which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be; but if, God's wondrous work set aside, she ground, as God forbid, the justness of her title upon consuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am assured that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme Majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall not long want punishment." Not content with writing thus to Cecil, he addressed a letter to Elizabeth herself, in which we find the following menacing passage:— "If thus in God's presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England under you, a weak instrument, so will I with tongue and pen justify your authority and regimen, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel: But, if the premises, as God forbid, neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regimen

upon your own law, flatter you who so list, your felicity shall be short." Need it be asked whether this was the effect of inspiration or insanity?

Too much however in his senses to trust himself in Elizabeth's hands, and hopeless of converting her to puritanism, he now set out for Scotland, and arrived there in May, 1559. He was soon after nominated by the Lords of the Congregation, as they had for some time styled themselves, together with another preacher, to endeavour to obtain by negotiation that Princess's aid to the temporal views of the Kirk, which, as is well known, she most readily granted. The subversion of the ancient religion was now consummated. Knox composed a code of constitutions for the newly invented church, at great length, and digested with a clearness and precision of which, in spite of his ferocious wildness, he was very capable. One of the nine general heads which it comprised was intituled "Touching the suppression of Idolatry," and contained this sweeping clause—"Idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeys, chapels, monkeries, frieries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, other than presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this realm; palaces, mansions, and dwelling houses, with their orchards and gardens, only excepted." The Estates, even before they had ratified these constitutions, became so enamoured of that peculiar article, that they passed an act specially for the execution of its provisions, and Knox aided their pious intention by simultaneously proclaiming in a sermon that the "sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests." Instantly commenced that barbarous havoc, the disgrace of which to the land is still attested by so many magnificent relics. "Thereupon ensued," pathetically writes Archbishop Spotswood, who was no enemy to the prime author of the mischief, "a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all the parts of the realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater, and those who were in authority.

No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced, or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, such as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church, and bibliotheques, cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined."

The ecclesiastical government was now committed to twelve persons; the kingdom divided into as many districts, to be placed under their care respectively; and that of Edinburgh was assigned to Knox. There the celebrated Mary found him, intoxicated by power and popularity, on her arrival from France to take possession of a crown of thorns, the first of which he planted. The private exercise in the chapel of her palace of the faith in which she had been born and bred was intolerable to him, and, in defiance of an act of the State by which the penalty of death was denounced against any one who should disturb such worship, he inveighed furiously against it in his pulpit on the very first Sunday after her coming; declaring that "one mass was more frightful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the realm." Mary, forced to temporize, attempted to move him in the courteousness of private conference, but he was inexorable. The only concessions, if they might be so called, which she could obtain from him regarded his book lately mentioned. He declared that he had written it solely "against that wicked Jezabel of England;" and told her that as St. Paul could live under the government of Nero, so could he under hers. "She promised him access to her," says the most popular of the Scottish historians, quoting, in this instance, Knox's own authority, "whenever he demanded it: and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before all the people; but he plainly told her that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church she should hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for such occupation." "This

rustic apostle," adds the same writer, " scruples not in his history to inform us that he once treated her with such severity that she lost all command of her temper, and dissolved into tears before him. Yet, so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity, reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs, and when he relates this incident, he even discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct." Innumerable instances of this savage insolence towards the fair Queen might be cited from Knox's own relation.

This singular person survived the date of the complete establishment of his church for ten years, a portion of his life which affords not a single circumstance worthy to be recorded. With some show of reason indeed have his disciples asserted that Providence raised him up specially to perform that work, for certainly he was qualified for no other, and sunk, therefore, after he had accomplished it, into comparative insignificance. He died, after a gradual decay of three months, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1572, and was buried in the church-yard of the parish of St. Giles's, Edinburgh. Knox, amidst his pious cares, seems to have been by no means inattentive to his private interests: there is reason to believe that he died even wealthy. Certain it is that he was twice very respectably married; first, to Margery Bowes, of the ancient family of that name in the county of Durham; secondly, to Margaret, daughter of Andrew Stuart, Lord Ochiltree. By his first wife he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, who were educated in St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, became Fellows of that house, and beneficed clergymen in England; and one daughter, married to Robert Pont, a Lord of Session. By the second, he had three daughters, two of whom became the wives of ministers of the names of Welsh and Fleming.

Knox's writings—all, as might be expected, of the polemical class—were numerous. His " History of the Reformation within the realm of Scotland," a book on many accounts of considerable curiosity, is well known; for the rest, it is painful to enumerate

works which no one in this time has read, or will read, and yet some mention of them may be expected here. The following are extant in print:—"A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the Kingdom of England," 1554—"A Letter to Mary, Queen Regent of Scotland," 1556—"The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates and Commonalty of the same Realm," 1558—"The First Blast," &c. already spoken of, 1558—"A Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel, heretofore by the Tyranny of Mary suppressed and banished," 1559—"An Answer to a great number of blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary of God's eternal Predestination," 1560—"A reply to the Abbot of Crossragwell's" (Crossregal) "Faith, or Catechism, with his conference with that Abbot," 1562—"A Sermon preached before the King" (Henry Darnley), 1566—"An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyria, a Jesuit," 1568. Other of his pieces are printed in Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, and several of his manuscripts existed about eighty years since in the hands of a Mr. Robert Woodrow, a Minister of the Kirk.

Engraved by W. Holl.

THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK.

OB. 1572.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

PROOF

Pubd April 2nd 1828, by Whittaker & Co. 13 Ave Maria Lane.

THOMAS HOWARD,

FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK.

HENRY, Earl of Surrey, the poet, the soldier, and the last victim to the monstrous cruelty and injustice of Henry the Eighth, and Frances, third daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford, were the parents of this great nobleman. The sanguinary death of his father made way for his succession to the Dukedom in 1557, on the demise of his grandfather, Thomas, the third Duke, whose family had been restored in blood in the first year of Queen Mary. The precise date of his birth is unknown, but he was at that time twenty-one years old. He had received his early education in the protestant faith, in the family of his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, who was a zealous reformer; and probably afterwards studied in the university of Oxford, since we find that he took there the degree of Master of Arts on the nineteenth of April, 1568.

He had espoused Elizabeth's title to the Crown with all the ardour of youth, and all the sincerity of inexperience, and was among the earliest objects of her gratitude when she succeeded to it. She invested him with the Order of the Garter, and in the following year appointed him her Lieutenant in the North, and Commander-in-chief of her forces there. In those characters, he concluded a treaty, as soon as he arrived at Berwick, with the Lords, who, for the protection of the Duke of Chatelherault, next heir to the Crown, were opposed to the French interest in Scot-

land; but the peace of Edinburgh, which speedily followed, prevented him from any opportunity of signalizing himself in the field. In 1567, Charles the Ninth of France, having complimented Elizabeth with authority to invest two of her subjects with his then much-valued order of St. Michael, she named Norfolk to share that distinction. In the next year he was one of the three Commissioners appointed to examine at York the charges brought by the Regent Murray against the captive Queen of Scots, and here he first seriously entertained the idea of that unfortunate matrimonial scheme which at length proved so fatal to him.

The first overture of this project had been made to him two years before by Maitland of Lethington, Mary's Secretary of State, shortly before her marriage to Darnley, when the Duke "waived it," as we are told, "with a modest refusal." Murray, with motives very different, now secretly reiterated the proposal, but it was perhaps yet more discouraged than before by Norfolk, who objected, with some degree of disdain, to an offer of marriage with a woman who laboured under a suspicion, indeed a formal accusation, of dreadful crimes, although that woman were a Sovereign. The correspondence however with Murray, though the subject perhaps was at present unknown, did not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth's spies, who discovered also that the Duke sometimes communicated with Lethington, and others in confidence with the Queen of Scots. In the exercise too of his office of Commissioner, signs of partiality to her cause were occasionally observed. Elizabeth's jealousy was awakened, and she exclaimed, in the hearing of several of her Court, that "the Queen of Scots would never want a friend so long as Norfolk lived."

Early in the succeeding year, 1569, we find the Duke wavering on the proposal of the match. He had consulted some of his friends; had been encouraged by them to adopt the project; and a small party was secretly in some measure formed to forward its

views. To the scheme for the Duke's marriage was now added another, for that of his only daughter to the young King of Scotland, Mary's son. Elizabeth, who became imperfectly apprised of these transactions, had now just ground for anger, though she had none to suspect the Duke's loyalty. Even in the midst of their progress he had ingenuously laid before her certain splendid offers by which the King of Spain had sought to corrupt his fidelity, and to induce him to employ his great power and popularity in embarrassing her government. But the mere failure of that profound deference to royalty which in those days rendered it necessary for a nobleman to obtain to his marriage the previous approbation of his Prince, not to mention the peculiar circumstances of the bride proposed in this case, could not but have given high offence to a Sovereign less irritable and tenacious than Elizabeth. She dissembled, however, her resentment till she could fathom the whole of the plan to the utmost, and the means that she used for that purpose, though not absolutely proved, are indicated by such powerful historical probabilities as to dispel all reasonable doubt. The Earl of Leicester, who unworthily possessed the Duke's confidence, was employed by her to abuse it. The darkness which involved the motives of that subtle and unprincipled man, even in his own day, has in the lapse of time become generally impenetrable; but it is scarcely possible to surmise with any degree of plausibility what other end he, who never moved but with the view of serving his own interest, chiefly by cultivating her favour, could have proposed by his conduct in this affair. The concurrent testimony of all historians of that time has assured us that Leicester, at this very period, came suddenly forward to urge the Duke with vehemence to conclude the treaty for the match, and undertook himself an active and busy agency in the promotion of it; that when it was on the point of being accomplished, he affected to fall sick, and on receiving a visit from her, discovered the whole to the Queen; and that he so devoted his friend to almost certain ruin,

under the pretence of endeavouring to save himself from possible displeasure.

Elizabeth however entertained a partiality of some sort towards Norfolk, and wished to save him. She still received him with apparent complacency, and even warned him by hints of his danger. Dining with her at Farnham, she "advised him pleasantly to be careful on what pillow he laid his head." She informed him soon after that all had been imparted to her, and reproached him with severity. He now besought his friends to mediate for him, and retired to his estates in Norfolk, but soon returned to the Court, where on his arrival he learned that the Queen had in the mean time received a letter from Murray, with new disclosures. He was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and, having made a large confession, the effusion, not of fear, but of a mind not less honourable than lofty, was committed to the Tower on the eleventh of October, 1569, on a charge of high misdemeanors, from whence, after a year's imprisonment, he was removed to a milder restraint in his own house, under the care of Sir Henry Neville. Here he was visited by that honest minister Burghley, who loved him not less than he loved honour and impartiality, and who, says Camden, "did all he could to work him over to marry any other woman, whereby he would afterwards be free from suspicion, and the state be out of fear; notwithstanding," continues the same author, "there were some who thought he was now set at liberty on purpose that he might be brought into some greater danger. This is certain; that more things came to light afterwards than he was aware of, and the fidelity of those who were his greatest confidants, either by hope or bribery, began to fail him."

The fatal design had indeed sunk too deeply into Norfolk's mind to be eradicated. He was no sooner free from all custody than he engaged in a regular correspondence with Mary, who suggested applications for assistance to the Pope, and the King of Spain, with other expedients full of danger to the state. In this

enlargement of the plan it was even proposed to seize the person of Elizabeth, and to restore the Catholic religion in England, but this the Duke was proved to have rejected with horror and detestation. The agency of persons of mean rank, and of doubtful character, was now employed, and among them one of the name of Higford, the Duke's secretary, whom he was obliged to intrust with the deciphering of Mary's letters, and others, the originals of which he was strictly ordered to destroy. This however he disobeyed, and, in the summer of 1571, having been detected in the act of conveying a sum of money from the French Ambassador to Mary's party in Scotland, and cast into prison, in a mixture of fear and treachery voluntarily directed Elizabeth's government to the secret place in which he had deposited them. Norfolk was immediately arrested; on the seventh of September again committed to the Tower; and, on the sixteenth of the succeeding January, was tried by twenty-five Peers, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, presiding as Lord High Steward, on a charge of high treason, obscurely stated in the indictment, and by no means proved by the papers produced against him, which were the sole evidence employed on the occasion: on that however he was found guilty, and was condemned in the teeth of the well-known statute of Edward the Sixth, which enacts that no person shall be convicted of high treason but on the parole testimony of at least two witnesses, to be confronted with the accused.

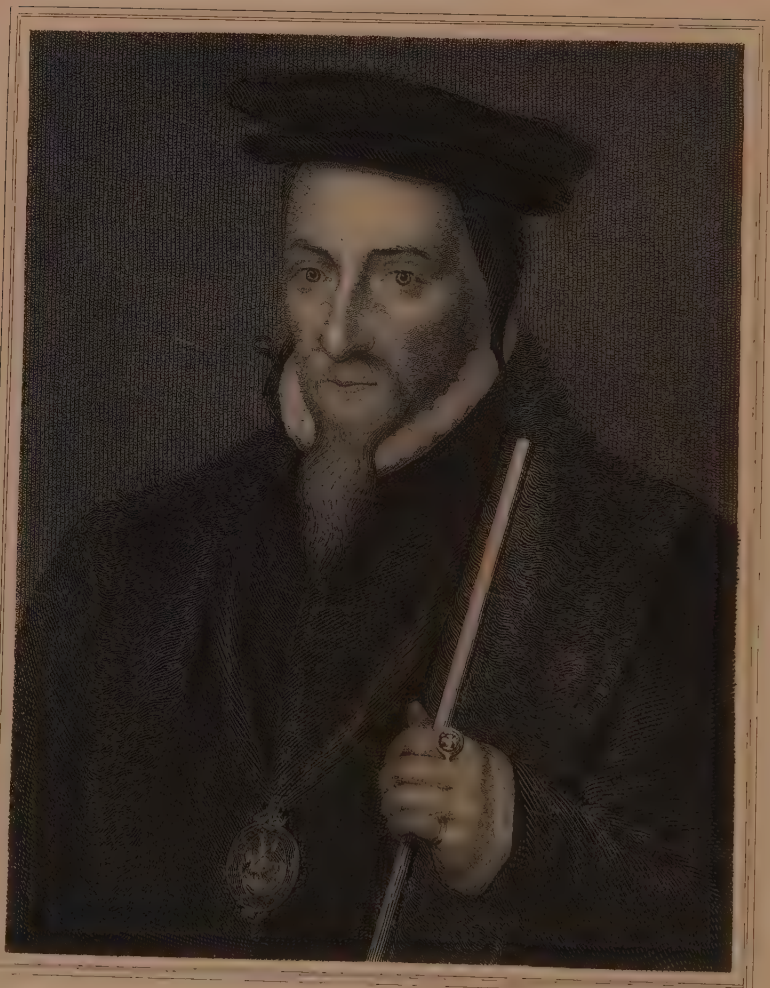
When the usual final question was put to him—"What he had to say why judgment of death should not be passed on him?" he answered only, "God's will be done, who will judge between me and my false accusers." The sentence was then pronounced, which he heard with calmness, and when it was ended said to the Lords in a firm but modest tone, "Sentence is passed on me as a traitor. I have none to trust to but God and the Queen: I am excluded from your society, but I hope shortly to enjoy the heavenly. I will fit myself to die: only this thing I crave—that

the Queen would be kind to my children and servants, and take care that my debts be paid." Camden, who was officially present at the trial, records these speeches, and has in his excellent "Annals of Elizabeth," a number of minute particulars connected with this nobleman's story, too extensive to be here inserted otherwise tnan in substance, given with a fidelity and impartiality unusual with the historical writers of his time; but he prudently leaves the inferences to be drawn by posterity. There can be no doubt that the Duke's ambition aimed at the future attainment of the station of King Consort, if the phrase may be allowed, of Scotland, and eventually of England; and it was a blameless ambition, for it involved no question of Elizabeth's right to reign, nor of any disturbance of the regular succession to the throne, but aimed merely at the chance of partaking in the splendour of a legal presumptive inheritance.

Elizabeth hesitated for several months whether to take the life of a nobleman perhaps not less beloved by herself than by her people, but at length gave way to those predominant feminine passions, fear and jealousy. An address, doubtless with her secret concurrence, was at length presented to her by a committee of both Houses of Parliament, beseeching her to sign the warrant for his execution, with which, affecting that she could not resist the voice of her people so declared, she complied; and on the second of June, 1572, the Duke suffered death on the scaffold, with that pious resignation, and dignified calmness, which bespoke at once the purity and the grandeur of his character.

Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was thrice married; first to Mary, daughter and one of the coheirs of Henry Fitzalan, fourteenth and last Earl of Arundel of his ancient name, who died in childbirth, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1557, under the age of seventeen, leaving however her infant son, Philip, who became Earl of Arundel in right of his mother. He married secondly, Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden, and Lord Chancellor, and widow of Henry, a younger

son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and by her had two sons, Thomas and William, the ancestors respectively of the present Earls of Suffolk and Carlisle; and two daughters, Elizabeth, who died an infant; and Margaret, married to Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset of his name. The Duke's third Lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leyburne, and widow of Thomas, fourth Lord Dacre of Gillesland.



Engraved by H. Robinson

WILLIAM POWLETT, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

OB. 1572.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

WILLIAM POWLETT,

FIRST MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

In contemplating the tyranny, the violence, and the injustice of the time in which this eminent person flourished, we pause with peculiar complacency on the circumstances of a life marked by a prosperity so unvaried as scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of human felicity. In four reigns not less distinguished by the occasional sway of despotism or faction than by the alternate predominance, and consequent persecutions, of two conflicting churches, he held uninterruptedly the highest offices in the state, under the protection of a happy medium of royal favour, which appears not at any time either to have increased or abated. This was not good fortune. It seems to have been the simple result of a sincere loyalty; of a sagacity which confined itself to its proper objects; and of a zeal in the public service wholly uninfluenced by ambition. His life was extended far beyond the usual age of the healthiest men, and he died in the possession of immense wealth, and of a most honest character. The happiness of this man has been in no small measure entailed on his numerous posterity, for the axe has never yet reeked with the blood of a Powlett, nor have their estates in any instance fallen under the scourge of attainder.

He was the eldest of the three sons of Sir John Powlett, Knight of the Bath, heir male of the second line of a noble family, originally from Picardy, which in the thirteenth century acquired the Lordship of Powlett, Poulet, or Paulet, in Somersetshire, and afterwards used that surname, by Elizabeth, daughter to Sir

William Poulet, of Hinton St. George, in the same county, who represented the elder, and whose posterity has been also since ennobled. He was born in the year 1475, and it is most singular that from that period to the fifty-eighth year of his age no genuine memorial is to be found even of one solitary fact of his intermediate life. Naunton alone, speaking of him and of the then Earl of Pembroke, tells us generally that "they were both younger brothers," (a mistake, as we have just now seen, with respect to Powlett,) "yet of noble houses, and spent what was left them and came on trust to the Court, where, upon the bare stock of their wits, they began to traffic for themselves, and prospered so well that they got, spent, and left more than any subjects from the Norman conquest to their own times." In 1533 then we first meet with him, at that time a knight, in the office of Comptroller of the King's household; and in the following year, as Lord Herbert informs us, he was joined in commission with three of Henry's most highly trusted servants to accompany and assist the Duke of Norfolk, who was then despatched to Marseilles, by the desire of Francis the First, to attend an interview of that Monarch with Pope Clement the Seventh.

In 1538 he was appointed Treasurer of the Household, and by a patent of the ninth of March, 1539, was raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron St. John of Basing, in Hants, an estate which he derived from the marriage of an ancestor with a co-heir of the House of Poynings, in which that Barony had been formerly vested. On this domain he erected a magnificent seat, and here Naunton, in asserting that he "had spent what was left him," is again in error. On the establishment of the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1540, he was placed in the important office of Master, and in the succeeding year received the Order of the Garter. We find his name in the number of executors of Henry's will, and of the Council of guardians appointed by it for the infant successor. He now rose with the rapidity almost peculiar to favourites, a class to which he certainly never belonged. On the nineteenth of January, 1549, he was created Earl of Wiltshire; was

presently after appointed Lord High Treasurer; and on the twelfth of October, 1551, elevated to the dignity of Marquis of Winchester. In the same year he presided as Lord High Steward on the trial of the Protector Duke of Somerset, to whose now crushed influence he had probably owed his lately-acquired distinctions.

In the brief struggle for the succession to the throne after Edward's death, he espoused Mary's title with courage and frankness. With this disposition, together perhaps with an acquiescence which it has been hinted that he too readily and suddenly professed in the religious faith of that Princess, it is not strange that he should have continued to possess her favour, and his high office, during her reign. The insinuation, however, of this courtly sacrifice of conscience rests solely on a few careless words of Sir Robert Naunton, whom we have already twice convicted of misrepresenting this great man. Naunton merely says, again coupling Pembroke with the Marquis, "that they two were always of the King's religion, and over-zealous professors." Certainly neither a partiality to Mary, nor to her religion, was likely to recommend him to Elizabeth, yet she left him undisturbed in the possession of his post of Lord Treasurer till his death; and from this, and indeed from all considerations which the very scanty particulars that we have of him may authorize us to form, we may draw an inference more satisfactory than we frequently obtain from direct historical report, that he was an able, a faithful, and altogether worthy public servant, whose memory derives a higher credit from the silence of detraction than it might have acquired from that probably qualified and doubtful eulogy which history has denied to his character.

It is true that his long continuance in office has been ascribed to a readiness of compliance with the variety of factions which distinguished his time; and this charge too has arisen from an ill-natured paraphrase of Naunton's of a favourite saying of the ancient minister which has been eagerly transcribed into peerages, and other books of as little biographical weight—"Being

questioned," says Naunton, "by an intimate friend of his how he stood up for thirty years together amidst the changes and reigns of so many chancellors and great personages? 'Why,' quoth the Marquis, 'ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu;' I was made of the pliable willow, not of the stubborn oak." Naunton had derived the information which he thus garbled from an eminent contemporary of his own, Sir Julius Cæsar. In an abstract made by Dr. Birch, remaining in the Museum, of an original journal kept by that statesman during almost the whole of his long life, we find the following entry—

"Late supping I forbear;
Wine and women I forswear;
My neck and feet I keep from cold;
No marvel then though I be old.
I am a willow, not an oak;
I chide, but never hurt with stroke."

"This," continues Sir Julius, "was the answer of my godfather, William Poulet, Knt., Lord St. John, Earl of Wiltshire, Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer of England, being demanded by an inward friend how he had lived in the times of seven Monarchs, in all times of his life increasing in greatness of honour and preferment." Thus the Marquis tells us in the first four lines the means by which he had attained to a very old age; and in the two last, how he had maintained himself in his public stations in times of great difficulty—"I corrected mildly, says he, with a willow twig, and not with an oaken cudgel." His answer therefore refers, not to the practice of submission, but to the exercise of authority.

A few original letters, all on the same subject, and that little connected with history, and less with biography, from this nobleman to an office of the Royal Household, are preserved in the Museum. I will however close these meagre notices with a transcript of one of them, not only because I believe that we have at present no published example of his pen, but for the somewhat curious intelligence which it affords of the difficulties and terrors

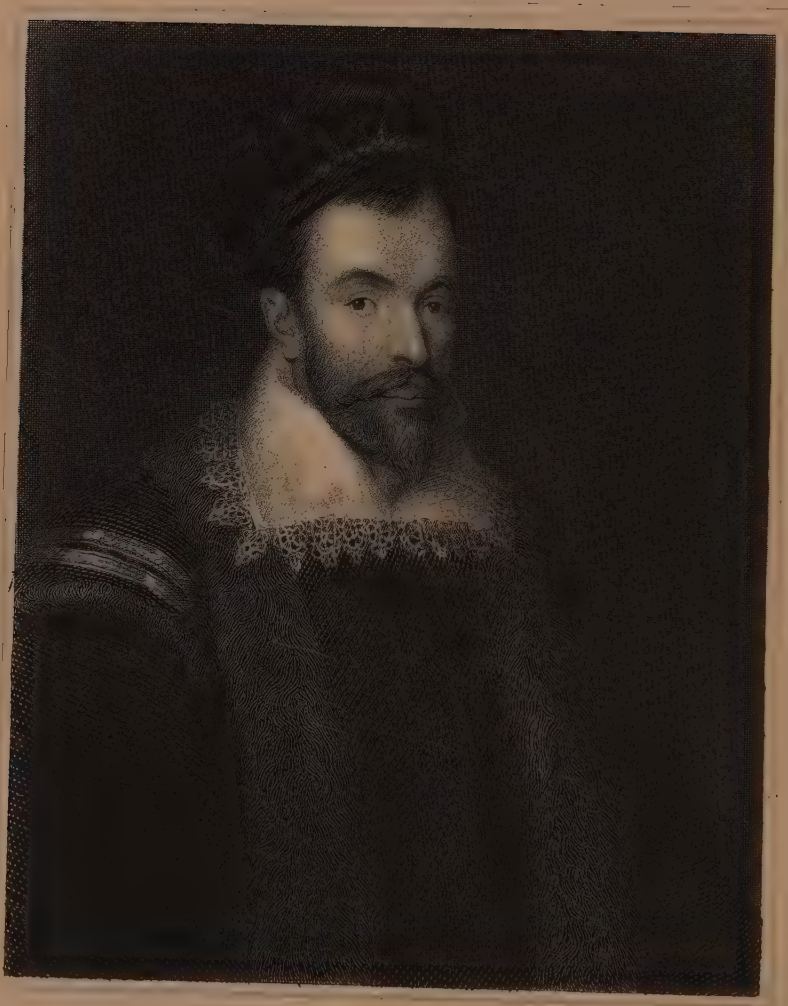
to which the Court, and even the Monarch, were then exposed during the visitations of pestilence.

"I comend me hartely to you, and think that the Quene's Ma^{te} hath don verry well to proge the P̄lyament to Octobr xii monethes, & to adjorne the Term to Hillary next. The Exchequer, & the receit, wilbe well kept in Syon, and for the triall of that I have sent; and at Shene the Courts of the Wards and of the Duchy may be well kept, yf Mr. Sakvile can be so plesed (wherof I dout, because he hath no oder lodging ny t'hand out of London) to whom I have writen, and shall have auns^{r} from him w^{t} spede, and upon his auns^{r} I shall returne you p̄fit knolege in all that matt^{r} I think no howse of the Quene's about London wthin xii mylles meet for her Grace's access to before the feast of All Saints: then I note you these howses after wrighten, to serve if need requier—Hatfeld; Grafton; the Moore; Woodstok; Langley, no good wyntter howse and yet my Ladye's of Warwycke for tearme of lyfe. Homewards from Langley I cannot bring the Quene but by Reding, and by Newberie, where they die, wherin may be great perell, more then I wishe shold be. I think her Ma^{te} best were where her Highnes now is, in Wyndsore, if helthe there contenewe, though the howse be cowlde, w^{ch} may be holpen wth good fyers; and if her Highnes shalbe forced to remove, as God forbid, I think then best the Howsehold be put to bowrde wages, and certyne of the Cownsell appoynted to wayte, and herselfe to repayre to Otland, where her M^{te} may remayne well, if no greate resort be made to the howse, and by this doinge the perell of all removes shalbe taken away, & the great charge that therof followeith. And there is at hand Hampton Cowrt, Richmond, and Eltome; large howses for romes, and good ayre; & nowe colde wether and frostes will bring helthe, w^{ch} God helpe. The rest of the howses the surveyor can name you. Westm^{r} the xxiii daye of Septembre, 1563.

Yo^{r} loving frend,

WINCHESTER."

The Marquis died on the tenth of March, 1572, at the age of ninety-seven, "having seen," says Camden, "one hundred and three persons that were descended from him." He had been twice married, and by his first lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Capel, had four sons, and as many daughters. John, who succeeded to his honours, and was ancestor of the extinct Dukes of Bolton, and the present Marquis of Winchester; Thomas; Chedioke; and Giles. The daughters were Alice, married to Richard Stowell, of Cotherston, in the county of Somerset; Margaret, to Sir William Berkeley; Margery, to Richard Waller, of Oldstoke, in Bucks; and Eleanor, to Sir Richard Pecksall. His second Marchioness was Winifred, daughter of Sir John Bruges, an Alderman of London, and relict of the wealthy Sir Richard Sackville. By her he had no issue.



Engraved by W Finden

SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND.

OF LETHINGTON.

OB. 1573.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND,

OF LETHINGTON.

This was the eminent person whom Camden, and several other writers, in treating of the affairs of Scotland in his time, designate by the appellation of "Lidington," a corruption of "Lethington," the denomination of his estate, by which, according to the usage of his country, he was commonly called. In an age when his native realm was not more distinguished by bravery in war than by ignorance of the arts of government, he stood alone a most profound and subtle politician. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun, and was heir to a large patrimony; but the peculiar character of his mind unfitted him for the enjoyment not only of the simple comforts but of the proudest distinctions of private life. Stratagem and secrecy were the darling objects of his study, nor was ambition wanting to spur him on to the constant exertion of those inclinations. He had appeared at an early age in the Court of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, widow of James the Fifth, where he gave such proofs of his talents for the management of public affairs, that in 1558 she chose him for her principal secretary. It was towards the close of that year that she declared her resolution to oppose the progress of the Reformation in Scotland, and in the winter of the following, Maitland, who, in addition to being a protestant, had disgusted her by contradicting the counsels of the French by whom she was surrounded, withdrew himself from her service, and joined the Lords of the

Congregation, as the leaders of the Reformers began now to be called, by whom he was despatched to London to implore the aid of Elizabeth to a cause which they were endeavouring, with various success, to support by force of arms. The request was gladly granted: the Duke of Norfolk was deputed to Berwick, to negotiate on the part of his mistress with the congregation; and a treaty, for which Maitland was a commissioner, was concluded in that town on the twenty-seventh of February, 1559, O. S. In the ensuing spring Elizabeth sent a fleet and army to Scotland, and her interference presently turned the scale in favour of the reformers. The remarkable siege of Leith; the consequent treaty of Edinburgh; and the death of the Queen Regent; were events which succeeded within a very few months: they were speedily followed by the departure of Francis the Second of France, and the arrival of his widow, the beauteous and ill-fated Mary Stuart, to mount the throne of her ancestors.

The commencement of her reign was distinguished by studied concesssions to the protestants. She restored Maitland to the post of secretary; but the favour, which perhaps was thus bestowed on him through policy, soon found stronger motives in her discovery of the perfection of his talents for that office, and in the effect of an infinite address with which he had successfully sought to cultivate her personal esteem. He became a favourite, and had for a long time the singular good fortune to enjoy at once the unlimited confidence of the crown and of the people. The difficulty of Mary's affairs with England was necessarily the first object of her attention, and to him alone she intrusted the management of them. Soon after her accession she sent him ambassador to Elizabeth, with whom he had to treat on that most delicate subject, the pretensions of his mistress to the inheritance of the English throne. To those who have studied Elizabeth's character it is needless to say that such a mission must have been unsuccessful, but the ability which he displayed in it, and the penetration of his views of the policy and characters of her ministers, convinced Mary that she had not erred in her choice. She

despatched him therefore again, in 1563, to press Elizabeth to a personal interview with her, in the North of England, and he again failed. On his return he found the Queen persecuted by a church more intolerant, and more perilous to the interests of princes who denied its doctrines, than that of Rome. The leaders of that infant schism which had then assumed the name of the Kirk, not only sought to deny to Mary the private exercise of her own religion, but were inculcating with vehemence the right of the people to resist their rulers. Maitland, artfully avoiding the former topic, attacked the succeeding position in the general assembly with admirable skill and eloquence, and concluded by accusing the notorious Knox of sedition. A debate ensued, the reputation of which is yet cherished by the Scots of either persuasion: "It admirably displayed," says the accurate and elegant Robertson, "the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of Maitland, embellished with learning, but prone to subtlety; the vigorous understanding of Knox, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."

In the spring of 1565, he was once more sent to London, to solicit the consent of Elizabeth to Mary's marriage with Darnley. It was refused, and he returned to Scotland with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whom Elizabeth instantly despatched thither to protest against it in her name. Mary, enraged at this answer to a message which she had intended as little more than a compliment, sent orders to Maitland, when on his way to her court, to return without delay to London; to reproach Elizabeth with malice and duplicity; and to declare that his mistress was now determined that she would suffer no opinion but that of her own subjects to interfere with her choice. Maitland disobeyed, and repaired to her presence; convinced her of the evils likely to arise from so rude and rash a defiance; and received her pardon and her thanks. At this period commenced the follies, the crimes, and the miseries, of the unhappy Mary. In the deliberations on her future fate, held during her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, in 1567, he exerted himself to the utmost to save to

her, under certain restrictions, the possession of the Crown; and when the Earl of Murray, lately appointed Regent, was summoned by Elizabeth in the following year to meet her commissioners at York, and justify the deposition of his Sovereign, Maitland, who was too firm a friend to her cause to be left with safety in Scotland, was unwillingly admitted by him into the number of his assistants.

The Duke of Norfolk was placed at the head of Elizabeth's commission, and it was during the progress of this mighty inquiry that the first steps were taken in that project for his marriage with the Queen of Scots, which in the end cost him his life. To Maitland, as the most firm adherent to Mary, and perhaps the most acute man in Scotland, he first opened his design. The secretary received it with the warmest approbation, and presently invested it with the form and substance of a profound plan of policy. It was communicated with caution to the Regent; negotiations were privately commenced in England to secure to it the countenance of the most powerful among the nobility; the great business at York was interrupted, and its method changed, by means unknown to the rest of those intrusted to conduct it; and Elizabeth for a time saw herself in danger of disappointment, without being able to divine the cause. A matter, however, divulged to so many could not be long concealed from her. Murray, to whom of all others it was least likely to be beneficial, probably betrayed it to her soon after his return to Scotland, where Maitland, undismayed by the failure of one plan to undermine the Regent's authority, and weaken his party, now struck out with renewed vigour into the execution of others. No longer employed in the government, and odious to the ruling faction, he retired into Perth, to the seat of the Earl of Athol, a devoted supporter of Mary's interests, from whence he negotiated, by his emissaries, with Murray's friends, and seduced several from their adherence to him. The Regent at length foresaw in Maitland's liberty the extinction of his own power, and, having decoyed him to Stirling, procured a retainer of the Earl of Lenox

to accuse him to the Privy Council of being a party in the murder of Darnley. He was sent in the autumn of 1569 a prisoner to Edinburgh, where Kirkaldy of Grange, who was governor of the castle, a person deeply concerned in the most remarkable public transactions of his time, and one of those whom Maitland had secretly gained over to the Queen's party, detached him, as it is said by counterfeiting Murray's signature to a warrant, from the persons to whose charge he had been committed, and took him into his own custody in the castle. This friendly aid prevented his being brought to an immediate trial, the fatal issue to him of which was evident; and Murray, who for some private reasons suffered Kirkaldy's conduct to pass unresented, was within a few weeks after assassinated by a private enemy.

Maitland was acquitted by a provisional council of nobles who had assembled to elect a Regent, and, on regaining his freedom, again plunged instantly into the political confusion of the state. He now laboured to accomplish a junction of the two contending factions, and at length, hopeless of restoring Mary to the plenitude of her regal power, proposed that she should be admitted to the sovereignty jointly with her infant son, who, on her deposition, had been placed on the vacant throne. To this end he, in concert with Kirkaldy, procured a conference between the leaders of the hostile parties, which broke up in tumultuous indecision. It was a critical hour for Maitland. He found himself obliged to declare openly for the Queen, or for her son, and with little deliberation, because the circumstances of the time scarcely allowed room for any, at length appeared publicly for the former, and joined in issuing a proclamation, asserting her authority in bold and explicit terms. In the mean time the Earl of Lenox, father of the murdered Darnley, was chosen Regent by the opposite party, aided by the influence of Elizabeth, and one of the first acts of his authority was to deprive Maitland of the office of secretary, and to proclaim him a traitor. The rage of contention was now at the highest pitch: each party had an army under the

walls of Edinburgh, and each, at the same time, held a Parliament, the one in that city, the other at Stirling: the assembly which acted under that title on the behalf of the King, in spite of Kirkaldy, who was not only governor of the castle, but provost of the town, passed an act of attainder against many of its opponents, in which Maitland was included.

These matters occurred in 1570, and the succeeding year, towards the close of which the regent Lenox was killed at Stirling in a furious and romantic surprise of that town by Kirkaldy. The Earl of Mar, a nobleman of excellent character, whose endeavours to promote concord had procured him universal esteem, was chosen by the King's adherents to succeed him. In that spirit he opened a treaty with Maitland and Kirkaldy, in which all the parties seem to have been actuated by a sincere desire to heal the wounds of their country, and it was on the point of conclusion when the subtle and unprincipled ambition of the Earl of Morton rendered it abortive. Morton, a bitter enemy to Mary, a purchased friend to Elizabeth, and a disappointed candidate for the regency, at length obtained that office on the twenty-ninth of October, 1572, on the demise of Mar, who is said to have died of a broken heart. He held Maitland in the utmost abhorrence, but a secret wish to separate more widely the Queen's party, which was already somewhat disunited, induced him to renew with Maitland and his friends the negotiation which himself had interrupted with Mar. Maitland was then deeply engaged in forming a plan for the escape of his mistress from the captivity in which the fears and the injustice of Elizabeth had so long retained her. He agreed to the treaty with the view of making it subservient to his design, but Morton, his rival in subtlety and penetration, as well as in the love of political rule, discovered his motive, and determined on his ruin. Maitland now shut himself up with Kirkaldy in the castle of Edinburgh, to which Morton, with the aid of English troops, laid close siege, and after prodigies of valour performed by the gallant defenders, reduced it on the twenty-ninth of May, 1573. Kirkaldy and

Maitland surrendered to Sir William Drury, who commanded Elizabeth's troops, under a solemn engagement that their lives should be spared; but the former was shortly after hanged at the Cross in Edinburgh; and Maitland, who could found no hope of mercy but on his share in a promise already so scandalously broken, is said to have died by his own hand on the ninth of the succeeding month.

The political conduct of this extraordinary person has usually been taxed, it is difficult to discover on what grounds, with a selfish and sordid versatility. He appears, on the contrary, to have been the only public man of his country who remained invariably attached to the interests of Mary. Archbishop Spotswood, a warm friend to the contrary party, says, "A man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels were held in that time for oracles; but variable and inconstant; turning and changing from one faction to another, as he thought it to make for his standing. This did greatly diminish his reputation, and failed him at last," &c. Dr. Robertson, in the following passage, gives us his character probably with more candour—"Maitland had early applied to public business admirable natural talents, improved by an acquaintance with the liberal arts; and at a time of life when his countrymen of the same quality were following the pleasures of the chase, or serving as adventurers in the armies of France, he was admitted into all the secrets of the cabinet, and put upon a level with persons of the most consummate experience in the management of affairs. He possessed in an eminent degree that intrepid spirit which delights in pursuing bold designs, and was no less master of that political dexterity which is necessary for carrying them on with success: but these qualities were deeply tinctured with the neighbouring vices: his address degenerated sometimes into cunning; his acuteness bordered upon excess; his invention, over fertile, suggested to him on some occasions chimerical systems of policy too refined for the genius of his age or country; and his enterprising spirit engaged him in projects vast and splendid, but beyond his utmost

power to execute. All the contemporary writers, to whatever faction they belong, mention him with an admiration which nothing could have excited but the greatest superiority of penetration and abilities."

Sir William Maitland was twice married; first to Janet Menteth, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Mary, daughter of Malcomb, third Lord Fleming, who brought him an only son, James, in whom this line of the family became extinct. From Sir John Maitland, next and younger brother to the subject of the preceding sketch, who attained to the office of High Chancellor of Scotland, and was created Lord Maitland by James the Sixth, the Earls of Lauderdale are descended.

Engraved by W.H.Mote.

JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN.

DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT.

OB. 1574.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KETEL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

PROOF

JAMES HAMILTON,

EARL OF ARRAN, DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT.

This illustrious personage, whom a respect chiefly to high blood, unblemished integrity, and an amiable disposition, tended to place in the supreme government of his country at an epoch when it called for the rule of a politician at once subtle and daring, and perhaps capable even of relaxing occasionally from the strictness of just moral principles, was the eldest son of James, the first Earl of Arran of his family, by his third wife, Janet, daughter of Sir David Beatoun, Comptroller of Scotland. His grandfather was James, second Baron Hamilton, and his grandmother the Princess Mary, eldest daughter to King James the Second of Scotland, on whose first husband, Thomas Boyd, the Earldom of Arran, afterwards granted to the issue of her second marriage, had been conferred.

He succeeded to his father's dignities and great estates in 1529, and had lived for several years in as much privacy as his rank could allow, when the untimely death of James the Fifth, in 1542, a few days before the birth of his only child, afterwards the celebrated Mary, demanded the immediate appointment of a Regent. Competitors were not wanting. Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, who was by no means deficient in the ambition which distinguished her family, preferred a claim then of little hope, and Cardinal Beatoun, in addition to the pretensions

founded on his great talents, and long experience in public affairs, produced a will of doubtful authenticity, which he affirmed was left by the deceased King, and in which he was expressly designated to that high office. The nobility however, utterly averse on the one hand to the rule of a foreigner, and equally jealous on the other of a churchman not only entirely devoted to the Papal See, but of the most haughty and aspiring character, determined to offer it to Arran, who was in fact presumptive heir to the throne, through the descent above stated, and he accepted it, but not without hesitation.

The period of this election, which took place at the close of the year 1542, was perhaps the most important and critical to be found in the history of Scotland. Henry, whose influence in that country was before very formidable, considered the simultaneous events of his terrible victory at Solway Moss, the death of the King, and the succession of an infant in the cradle, as sure pledges of his future sovereignty. He commenced a treaty of peace with the Scots in the spirit of a conqueror and a tyrant, demanding not only that the royal babe should be betrothed to his son, Prince Edward, but that her person should be placed in his custody, and the government of her realm committed to his charge during her nonage. To these arbitrary and degrading conditions Arran would cheerfully have submitted, nor had Henry neglected to conciliate him by the most splendid temptations, among which was the offer of the Princess Elizabeth's hand to his eldest son, but the spirit of the nation was bursting into a flame, and, as it kindled, the resolution of the Regent failed. A treaty however was concluded, the terms of which, though considerably softened as to the points which were most odious, were still esteemed to be unreasonably partial to the English interest. Beatoun, whom the Regent had lately for a time imprisoned to prevent his resistance to the negotiation, and had liberated towards its conclusion, publicly condemned it with the utmost exertions of that powerful understanding and undaunted courage for which he was remarkable, and augmented, and

skilfully arrayed, the party of the disapproving nobles and clergy: meanwhile the Abbot of Paisley, Arran's natural brother, a staunch supporter of the Papacy, and an earnest friend to the French influence in Scotland, privately practised on his hopes and his fears, with no other effect however than confirming, if it may be so said, his irresolution. In this distracted state of mind, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1543, he signed a ratification of the treaty with England; and on the third of the succeeding month, in a secret meeting with the Cardinal, pledged himself to do his utmost to render it ineffectual, and to devote himself to the support of the interests of France.

Nor was more consistency to be found in his religious principles. The reformation in Scotland had owed much to his encouragement: he had professed that faith even with zeal; forwarded a bill in the Parliament to allow the translation of the Scriptures; and more than one of the most eminent protestant preachers of the country lived in his family. Yet, through the persuasions and the threats of the Cardinal, he publicly abjured it in the winter of this year in the Franciscan church at Stirling. These miserable vacillations rendered him the object at once of domestic and foreign attacks. The Earl of Lenox, descended also from the same royal stock, was inclined to dispute with him for the Regency, and actually raised troops with which he marched to Edinburgh for that purpose; but while Beatoun craftily amused Lenox with negotiation, the most part of his army dwindled away, and the remnant was routed in the field. Henry, on the other hand, enraged beyond measure, made a furious inroad into Scotland; Arran implored and obtained the aid of France; and, while these matters were passing, the Cardinal, whom circumstances had rendered his chief adviser, as well as his most formidable rival, was taken off by a foul assassination in his castle of St. Andrews, where he had for some time detained the Regent's heir, as an hostage for the father's submission to his will. To regain that young nobleman, as well as to make a decent shew of resentment towards the murderers of

the Cardinal, whom however he had secretly hated, the Regent ineffectually besieged the castle for five months, when a treaty ensued, in which neither party was sincere. The assassins engaged to restore his son, and to surrender the castle, on his procuring for them from the Pope an absolution of the murder, and from the Parliament a pardon; in the mean time they were secretly supported by Henry, to whom they had promised that they would resist to the last extremity; while the Regent, on his part, had applied to France for more skilful military aid than Scotland then possessed, for the purpose of reducing them, which in fact occurred soon after its arrival.

Before the conclusion of this siege Henry expired. His death was the signal for a war, which perhaps he himself had meditated. The demand which he had sternly made of the young Queen as a consort for his son and successor, Prince Edward, was now as peremptorily repeated by the Protector Somerset, in Scotland, and at the head of a powerful army. It was rejected, even with disdain, for the anger of the Scottish nobility was raised to the highest pitch by this outrage, and the Regent joined them with an air of firmness and decision secretly dictated by his engagements to France. The terrible overthrow at Musselburgh which succeeded on the tenth of September, 1547, seemed to render a strict alliance with that country even necessary to the preservation of any degree of Scottish independence; the nation readily claimed its protection; and England, in gaining a signal victory, defeated the very object for which she had fought. The Regent now, with almost general approbation, not only offered the hand of the infant Mary to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the Second, but proposed that she should be immediately sent to the Court of Paris, to receive her education under the direction of the King, who, on his part, engaged to assist Scotland with a powerful military force. A treaty to these, and other effects, was concluded early in the spring of 1548, and France obtained, through concessions purely gratuitous, all that England had lately sued and fought for in vain. The French King over-

whelmed the Scots with proofs of his gratitude, and Arran himself, with his usual imprudence, accepted from him the title of Duke of Chatelherault, and a pension of thirty thousand livres, together with the order of St. Michael, the collar of which appears on the portrait before us.

The army promised by Henry the Second of France arrived soon after in Scotland, but Somerset, whose power was now in the wane, was unable to undertake another invasion, and his great rival Dudley, on succeeding to the government of England, resolved to make a peace with the Scots. The treaty for that purpose renounced in express terms the claim of the marriage, and was in all other respects so favourable to the wishes of Scotland, that no doubt could be reasonably entertained of a repose of some years; the French troops were therefore re-embarked. Peace however produced its usual consequences in Scotland, a revival of intrigues and factions. The Queen Dowager, availing herself of the newly established amity and intercourse with France, laid plans to possess herself of the Regency. Since the death of the Cardinal, she had engaged in the direction of the state with increasing boldness and assiduity, and the patience with which the Duke allowed her interference, and listened to her dictates, suggested to her a strong hope that he might be induced to a voluntary resignation. The deficiencies of his nature, which were too glaring to be concealed, and the ill success of his measures, had gradually rendered him unpopular, while Mary had laboured, and with considerable effect, to gain the good opinion of the country, nor had she neglected to aggravate the prejudices conceived against him. Having matured her scheme, aided by the counsel of her own aspiring family, to obtain which she made a visit to Paris, she prevailed on Sir Robert Carnegy, and David Panter, Bishop of Ross, two of his chief advisers whom she had gained to her interest, to make the overture to him in the name of the King of France. These persons, who well knew how to address themselves to his foibles, terrified him with threats of the resentment of that

Monarch, as well as of the Queen Dowager, and represented to him with the utmost force her popularity and power, and the disgust which the late public misfortunes had inspired against his rule. On the other hand, they promised him, as the price of his resignation, the settlement by France of his dukedom on his heirs; a splendid increase of his pension; and a declaration by Parliament of his right to succeed to the Throne, and of a favourable allowance of his conduct in the Regency. He gave way, almost without hesitation, and Mary had arrived from France to take the reins of government, when an obstacle to her views, perhaps not wholly unforeseen, presented itself. His brother, late Abbot of Paisley, who had been raised by him to the primacy on the death of the Cardinal, lay during this singular negotiation in the utmost extremity of illness. Suddenly recovered, he flew to the Court, and, with equal judgment and spirit, for he possessed most of the qualities of mind which his brother wanted, exhorted him to retract, and for the time prevailed. Mary, however, was firm. She employed once more every engine of art and power, and at length carried her point by adding to them the command of the young Queen, who was now nearly twelve years old. The perseverance of the Archbishop caused a delay of several months, but in the spring of 1554 the Duke finally resigned, and the Queen Dowager assumed the Regency.

He was doomed however to be restrained during a long life by the cumbrous dignity of his birth from the enjoyment of that privacy for which his nature, and perhaps his inclination, had best fitted him. In the arrangements for the royal marriage, a gross fraud had been practised to defeat the inheritance of the house of Hamilton. While the Scottish Parliament, in professed concert with the Court of France, had manifested on that occasion a laudable caution in explaining and establishing the rights of the Duke as presumptive heir to the Throne, the young Queen had been compelled by her uncles, the Princes of Lorrain, with the concurrence of Henry the Second, to sign secretly certain instruments by which she settled the Crown of Scotland, in

default of issue from herself, upon the heirs in succession to that of France, and declared that any other disposition of it made, or to be made, by her might be esteemed as extorted, and therefore void. The discovery, or the suspicion, of this iniquitous proceeding, especially as it was immediately followed by an act of the Scottish Parliament conferring on the Dauphin for life an equal partnership in the Sovereignty, and in the case of his surviving the Queen, the whole, together with the title of King of Scotland, roused the Duke's indolent spirit, and induced him to attach himself to a party which readily elected him its nominal leader. The heads of the reformers, to whom their followers had lately given the title of "Lords of the Congregation," indignant at deceptions which had been practised on them by the Queen Regent, were now arrayed in firm opposition to her measures, or, in other words, to the French interest, and he joined them with some shew of ardour. Instigated as much by the artifices of Elizabeth, who had of late mounted the English Throne, as by their own resentment, they appeared in arms in 1559; and having appointed him their General, proclaimed the deposition of the Queen Regent. The eminent success which in the end crowned the efforts of this faction was then but dawning; the checks and impediments which seldom fail to attend the commencement of great public changes filled the Duke with doubts and terrors; and he seized the first favourable opportunity of retreating from the too arduous service which he had unwarily undertaken.

The resentment of France invaded his retirement. He was deprived of his pension, and his Dukedom was threatened, but a greater evil seemed to be approaching. Mary, now a widow, had returned to Scotland, and mounted a throne which she unhappily resolved to partake with Darnley; and in this mighty exaltation of the family of his rival, Lenox, the Duke foreboded the extinction of all hope of the succession in his own. He joined the faction which, led by the Earl of Murray, the Queen's illegi-

timate brother, had taken up arms to oppose the marriage, and fled the country with it before the Queen's superior strength. He resided long in France, and from thence besought her pardon with the deepest humility, and with some difficulty obtained it. There he remained during the enormities and vicissitudes of the three succeeding years, which were marked by the dethronement and captivity of Mary, and the appointment of Murray to the Regency. While that nobleman was employed in 1568, at York and at Westminster, in that great discussion of the conduct of his mistress which had been with solemn mockery instituted by Elizabeth, the friends of Mary were secretly active at home in her behalf. The Duke now returned, bringing with him a sum, supplied by the Court of France, to be applied to her service. He landed in England, where Elizabeth by various artifices detained him for some months, but he seems to have been allowed an unrestrained intercourse with Mary, who at the end of February, 1569, dispatched him to Scotland, decorated with the high-sounding title of her Lieutenant-General in that country, to which she added the singular denomination of her "adopted father."

He had scarcely concerted his plan of operations with the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, after himself the Queen's most powerful adherents, when Murray suddenly returned, and, with the promptitude and decision which marked his character, raised an army, and led it to Glasgow. The Duke, intimidated, and perhaps justly, instantly proposed a treaty, in which he engaged to submit to the authority of the King, as represented by the regency, and to relinquish the faculties with which Mary's lately granted commission had invested him; while Murray stipulated for the repeal of an act of attainder which had passed against some of the Queen's party; for the restoration of their dignities and estates to all who would submit to the government as then established; and for a convention, to be held at Edinburgh, to take into consideration the state of public affairs. Huntly and Argyll declined

to take any part in this negotiation, and remained in arms in their respective countries, and at this precise period intelligence from France conveyed to Mary's party unexpected offers of aid. The Duke now hesitated, and at the appointed conference, which Murray opened by demanding his instant signature to the terms which had been agreed on, began to expostulate for the unhappy Queen, when the Regent, not even deigning an answer, arrested him on the spot, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained, till the assassination of Murray, in the beginning of the following year, conferred a temporary authority on Mary's party, and procured his release.

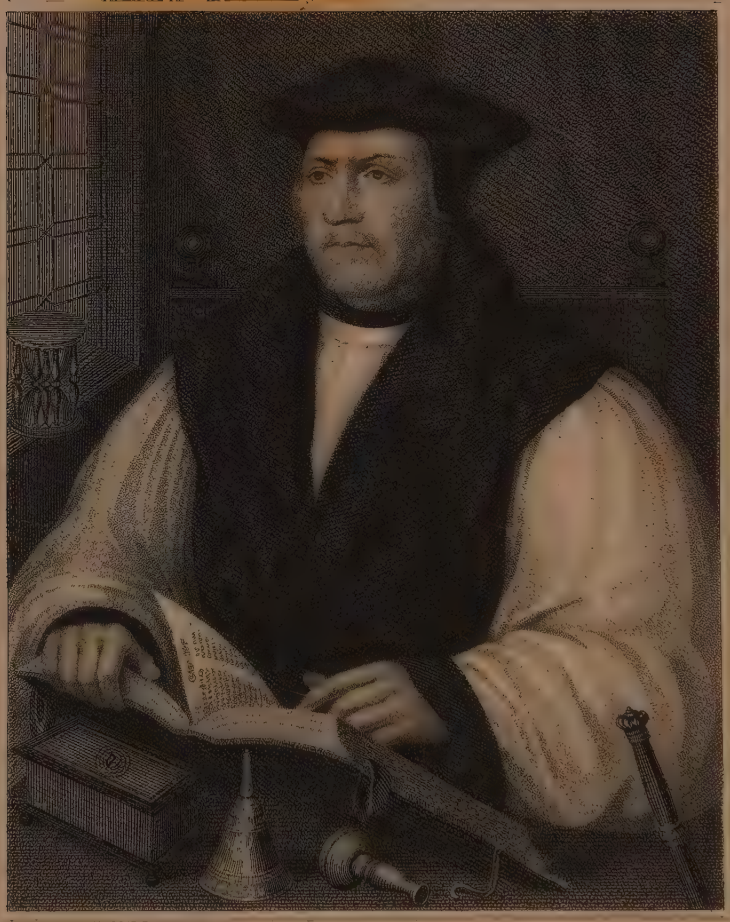
Hopes were now entertained that an agreement might be wrought between the two factions with equal justice to the rights both of the Queen and her son. Their leaders met, but the congress was distinguished only by mutual obstinacy, and they separated but to issue proclamations proscribing each other. Their discord, immoderate enough in itself, was fomented by Elizabeth, who had an army at their doors, one of the first exploits of which was to plunder and burn the Duke's palace of Hamilton. Lenox, who had been for some time in London, whither he went, on the occasion of the inquiry into the conduct of Mary, to accuse her of the murder of his son, now returned, under the protection, and with the recommendation of Elizabeth, to assume the office of Regent, to which indeed he had, in more respects than one, a sort of natural claim. He was placed in that great office on the twelfth of July, 1570, and commenced his exercise of it by proclaiming the Duke, and other great leaders of the Queen's party, traitors, and enemies to their country. In a littleness of malice utterly unworthy of his high birth and office, and indeed of the reputation for good dispositions for which he had credit, he marched in person to Hamilton, at the head of three hundred horse, and, seizing the most precious remnants of the Duke's plate, and other moveables, which had been saved from the late devastation, sold them publicly at the Market

Cross of Linlithgow. Early in the ensuing year, he brought the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had fallen into his hands by the surrender of Dunbarton Castle, in which he had taken refuge, to a nominal trial for high treason, in the issue of which he was, with scandalous partiality, condemned to be hanged.

The execution of this sentence, more especially as he was the first prelate who had ever suffered death in Scotland through a form of justice, enraged the dependents of his family almost to madness, and indeed offended the whole body of the people. The Queen's party took advantage of this disposition; and the Duke, with other noblemen who were staunch to her interest, took possession of the capital with an armed force, and on the twelfth of June, 1571, called a Parliament, in which her authority was implicitly recognised. Lenox, on the other hand, had his Parliament at Stirling, which denounced the Duke, and almost the whole house of Hamilton, as traitors, and declared their estates forfeited. Horrible disorders followed. The Queen's friends surprized Stirling, and Lenox fell in the tumult. The Earl of Mar, his successor, died about a year after his appointment; and the dark, ambitious, and treacherous Morton was at length elected to the Regency. Morton, the Duke's near relation by marriage, who was distinguished by a cold and calculating policy, wholly free from the influence of any passion, applied himself to the natural defects of the Duke's character, and the increasing infirmities of his age. Affecting to bury all causes of discord in oblivion, and to pay the most profound respect to his adversary's high birth and honourable motives, he simply proposed a treaty, the terms of which comprehended every provision that the Duke himself could have devised for the security of his person and interests. It was eagerly accepted by him, and was ratified at Perth on the twenty-third of February, 1573, N.S., and on the twenty-second of January, in the following year, he expired at his Palace of Hamilton.

The Duke of Chatelherault married Margaret, eldest daughter

of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, by whom he had issue James, third Earl of Arran; John, created Marquis of Hamilton; David, who died childless; Claud, ancestor of the Earls and Marquisses of Abercorn: and four daughters; Barbara, married to James Lord Fleming; Margaret, to Alexander Lord Gordon, eldest son of George, fourth Earl of Huntly; Anne, to George, fifth Earl of Huntly; and Jane, to Hugh Montgomery, third Earl of Eglingtoun.



Engraved by W. Hall

MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1575.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The Church of England owes perhaps more to this wise and good man than to any of the reformers who preceded him, and who may have left a higher fame. They razed to the foundation the vast and venerable edifice of the ancient religion, and hastily erected in its stead a pile of discordant materials, without strength or symmetry; he cemented the unconnected parts, smoothed irregularities, and supplied deficiencies. They were the slaves of a furious and interested tyrant, and of their own yet baser interests; he the honest and incorrupt servant of a prudent sovereign, and the faithful minister of Christianity. They had incurred the suspicion of many by eagerly adopting a new system of faith; he gained the confidence of all by strenuously supporting that in which he had been bred. Their career had been marked by force and persecution; his was distinguished by patience and benignity.

He was born in the parish of St. Saviour, in Norwich, on the sixth of August, 1504, eldest of the three sons of William Parker, a citizen and woollen manufacturer of that town, but of a gentleman's family, or, in other words, of a family bearing armorial ensigns. His mother was Alice, a descendant from the respectable house of Monyns, of Suffolk and Kent. He was well educated for the clerical profession, first in his father's house, and afterwards in the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted in September, 1522, and on the twentieth of the ensuing March

was chosen a scholar of Bene't, now Corpus Christi, College, a foundation which offered some peculiar advantages to young men born in his city. He remained at Cambridge for twelve years; took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1525, and in 1527 was ordained deacon and priest, elected a fellow of his college, and created master of arts. It is almost needless to observe that the universities at that period ostensibly submitted themselves to the doctrines and the discipline of the Church of Rome; but the reformation was dawning, and Parker was one of many Protestant divines, afterwards of great eminence, who met, with little more secrecy than was required by mere decorum, to pave the way for its progress. This disposition, joined to the fame which he had acquired, not only for his talents and erudition, but as an admirable preacher, attracted the notice of the court, and in 1535 he was suddenly and unexpectedly summoned thither, to take on himself the office of a domestic chaplain to Anne Boleyn, by whom he was soon after presented to the deanery of the college of Stoke Clare, in Suffolk.

After the death of that unfortunate lady, he was retained by Henry as one of his own chaplains. In 1538 he took the degree of doctor in divinity; in 1541 obtained a prebend of Ely, and a rectory in that diocese; and in 1544 was elected master of Benet College, and soon after Vice-Chancellor of the University, which office he served again in the year 1547. Under Edward the Sixth he was appointed a prebendary of Lincoln, and in the same month, July, 1552, was elected Dean of that church. In the following year Mary deprived him of all his preferments, but suffered him to remain unmolested in obscurity during her reign.

Elizabeth, on her accession, committed chiefly to Sir Nicholas Bacon, her Lord Keeper, and Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, the arduous task of superintending the infant ecclesiastical establishment. The former of those great men had been the intimate friend and fellow collegian of Parker, and probably first recommended him to the Queen's especial favour; but the raising him, without intermediate steps, to the exalted dignity

which awaited him, must have been the result of her own judgment of his character, and of her own private determination. The see of Canterbury had been for nearly a year vacant, when, on the ninth of December, 1558, Bacon signified to Parker the Queen's design to advance him to a bishopric, which he declined. He was again and again summoned to London by the Lord Keeper and the Secretary, but, under various pretences, constantly refused. It is a curious trait of the simplicity and superstition of the time that Bacon should have ascribed, as appears by Parker's answer to one of that minister's letters, his backwardness to a dread inspired by a prophecy of Nostradamus; undoubtedly, however, it arose from the modesty and humility of the man, and Nolo Episcopari was perhaps never in any other instance uttered with such sincerity of heart—"What with passing those hard years of Mary's reign," says he, in one of his letters to Cecil, published by Strype, "in obscurity, without all conference, or such matter of study as now might do me service; and what with my natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefacedness; I am so abashed in myself that I cannot raise up my heart and stomach to utter in talk with others that which with my pen I can express indifferently without great difficulty." At length, on the twenty-eighth of May, he received the Queen's positive command to repair to her presence, which he obeyed, and received from her his nomination to the Primacy; but his consecration was deferred till the seventeenth of December, and it may be worth observing that the private and simple manner in which that ceremony was conducted gave occasion to a silly report, which the Catholics industriously propagated, that it was performed at a tavern in Cheapside. This was revived by the fanatics, in the beginning of the grand rebellion; great pains were taken by some churchmen to invalidate the story of the Nag's Head consecration, as it was called; and they proved by positive evidence that it took place in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth.

Parker's first care was to secure the independence of the new hierarchy. An act had passed in the late Parliament to enable

the Queen, on the vacation of any bishopric, to appropriate to herself such part of its temporalities as she might choose to possess, and to give in exchange such portions of abbey lands, or other estates vested in the Crown, as she might deem equivalent. Convinced that no establishment could be safe whose governors must be subject either to the absolute control of the crown, or to the reproach of poverty, he laboured earnestly with Elizabeth to persuade her to relinquish this right, and, though she exercised it with respect to his own see soon after he was appointed to preside in it, in a great measure finally succeeded. He swept away gradually, and with a gentle hand, the numerous remains of the Romish system which yet clung to the church, and, to render his efforts palatable to the people, began with the Queen herself. Elizabeth, who still prostrated herself, in her chapel and in her closet, before a crucifix, and was firmly averse to the marriage of priests, yielded those prejudices to the arguments of Parker. He defended the Reformation with equal zeal and moderation in a correspondence with the ejected Catholic Prelates, and engaged warmly with Calvin in forming a plan for the uniformity of faith and discipline among Protestants throughout Europe, the fruition of which was unhappily prevented by the death of that extraordinary man, whose fame has been unjustly sullied by the subsequent extravagances of the sect which derives its name from him, for Calvin himself was averse neither to monarchy nor episcopacy.

At length it became necessary, for the establishment of the reformed faith, and of an ecclesiastical polity, on known laws, to summon a synod, or convocation, which met on the twelfth of January, 1562. In that assembly Parker proposed the thirty-nine articles which form the code of the church of England, and of which he may be considered in a great measure as the author, and they were, after the most grave and minute deliberation, enacted. Elizabeth's second Parliament met on the same day, and its first employment was to pass an act "for the assurance of the Queen's power over all estates." This statute was peculiarly aimed at the Papal pretensions, and the oath of supremacy,

which had been framed by the preceding Parliament, was recited in it, and imperatively prescribed to many descriptions of persons, but particularly to the clergy, under the penalty of a premunire for the first refusal, and of the laws against high treason for the second. The Archbishops and Bishops were appointed to administer this oath to ecclesiastics, but Parker foresaw the misery which must follow the rigorous exaction of it, and turned with horror from an engine which could be worked only amidst persecution and bloodshed. He wrote, therefore, a letter to be circulated with the utmost secrecy among his brother prelates, to which, with much difficulty, he obtained the Queen's consent, exhorting them not in any case to tender the oath a second time, but, on one refusal, to leave the contumacious party to be dealt with by himself. This excellent letter concluded thus—"Praying your Lordship not to interpret mine advertisement as tending to show myself a patron for the easing of such evil-hearted subjects which, for divers of them, do bear a perverse stomach to the purity of Christ's religion, and to the state of the realm, thus by God's providence quietly reposed; and which also do envy the continuance of us all, so placed by the Queen's favour as we be; but only in respect of a fatherly and pastoral care, which must appear in us, which be heads of his flocks, not to follow our private affection and hearts, but to provide, coram Deo et hominibus, for saving and winning of others, if it may be obtained." In the end, through his perseverance in this merciful course, that frightful law became nearly a dead letter, and the oath was administered to none of the Popish prelates, or other clergy, except the odious Bonner. Through this, and many other instances of moderation and beneficence towards those unfortunate men, he actually acquired their love. Tonstall, and Thirleby, the deprived Bishops of Durham and Norwich, Boxall, late Dean of Windsor, and others, whom the Privy Council had thought fit to commit to his custody, passed the latter years of their lives in his houses, enjoying a tranquillity perhaps before unknown to them; guests to his hospitality, and prisoners only to their own gratitude.

From the Romanists, subdued by past severity and succeeding conciliation, the Church of England had now little to dread, when from her own bosom issued a host of enemies yet more formidable. These were the Puritans, as they were then called, whom we have since seen split into so many sects of various denominations. Originally without any specific design, and animated by the simple operation of discontent and folly, they fell furiously on the caps, and hoods, and tippets, of the churchmen, and by an incessant outcry, uttered in the foulest language that ever disgraced the pulpit or the press, at length necessarily called forth the attention of the Primate. He renewed his endeavours to establish an uniformity of worship, and his interference proved but the signal for new murmurs. All the exterior decencies of devotion were reviled as remnants of popery, and ecclesiastical property was viewed merely as the means of supporting spiritual pride. These people had for their chief patron the abandoned Earl of Leicester, and the bickerings which followed between that unworthy favourite and Parker tended much to embitter the remainder of the good man's life. The Archbishop, however, in concert with some other members of the ecclesiastical commisson, composed in 1564 certain articles respecting the public administration of the sacraments, and the apparel of the clergy, but the Privy Council, at the instigation of Leicester, refused to confirm them; he was therefore obliged to publish them on his own authority, and they were utterly disregarded. Amidst these differences he was deeply engaged in superintending that edition of the Scriptures which is known by the name of the Bishops' Bible, because he had allotted a portion to each of the Bishops for his revisal and correction, reserving to himself the final control over the whole.

The last ten years of this excellent prelate's life were passed between vain endeavours to prevent the ascendancy of the Puritans, and to ward off the blows aimed at himself by the courtiers who supported them. Continually thwarted in the execution of his high functions: maligned by a multiplicity of

libels; his credit undermined with the people, and, through the intrigues of Leicester and some others, failing with the Queen; he lived in fact under a persecution, and was perhaps saved by death from undeserved impeachment, or at least disgrace. Within a few weeks even before his departure, and probably while he laboured under his last illness, a virulent and wholly undisguised attack was made on him, by printing a translation of the section relating to himself, in a small history in Latin of Bene't College and its successive Masters, preserved in manuscript in that house, and stuffing it with the most scurrilous ribaldry in the shape of notes. The character of this vile and vulgar publication may be fairly inferred from its title—"The life off the 70 Archbishopp off Canterbury, presentlye settinge, englished, and to be added to the 69 lately sett forth in Latin. This number off seventy is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more; but that as Augustin was the first, so Mathew might be the last." This may serve as a specimen of the innumerable pamphlets of the same cast by which he was about that time assailed.

Archbishop Parker had been long afflicted by the stone, and in March, 1575, experienced a terrible attack of that complaint, which continued for many weeks with little intermission. During his illness he wrote many letters to the Queen and Burghley on the state of the Church, with a fervency which the pains of death even increased. His last letter to the Treasurer concludes with a presage of the awful times which were approaching. "I am not much led," says he, "by worldly prophecy, and yet, I cannot tell how, this old verse recourseth oft to my head—Fœmina morte cadet, postquam terram mala tangent." He died at Lambeth, on the seventeenth of May, and was interred in his private chapel there; but his remains were torn from their grave by the Puritan regicide who then inhabited the archiepiscopal palace, and, with a refinement of brutality, which has been since imitated only by the revolutionary atheists of France, buried in a dunghill. He married, in 1547, Margaret, daughter of Robert Harleston, of Matsal, in Norfolk. This was the lady to whom

Elizabeth, after one of the great banquets given to her by Parker, said, alluding to the untitled dignity of an Archbishop's wife—"And you, Madam I may not call you, and Mistress I am ashamed to call you; so as I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you." He had by her four sons; John, who married, and established a family in the county of Kent; Matthew, who died an infant; a second Matthew, who also married, but left no posterity; and Joseph who died a bachelor.

This prelate was profoundly learned, and his erudition was ornamented by a zealous taste for antiquarian research. We are indebted to him for the publication of four of our best early English historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser, whose Life of King Ælfred he printed in Saxon characters, to encourage the study of that tongue. He published, in 1572, the lives of his predecessors in the See of Canterbury, under the title of "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, et privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuarensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem LXXX," most of the copies of which want his own life, and it is this work that the libel lately mentioned affects to complete. Doctor Blague, Dean of Rochester, and rector of Lambeth, and some other learned men, are supposed to have largely assisted him in collecting and composing it. He wrote also a Defence of the Marriages of Priests; and translated Ælfric's Saxon version of an ancient Latin homily, proving that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was used by the Saxons. The University of Cambridge, and his archiepiscopal houses, afford ample testimony of his munificence and disinterestedness. He founded two fellowships, and ten scholarships, in Bene't College (to the library of which he gave his invaluable collection of manuscripts) and a scholarship in Trinity Hall; made many valuable additions to the University library, and large presents of plate to several of the Colleges; and repaired and ornamented the palaces of Canterbury, Lambeth, and Beakesborne, purchasing, at a vast expense, the comfort and convenience of his successors.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1576.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE LORD BAGOT.

WALTER DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.

In a reign abounding with historical anomalies this nobleman's story is pre-eminently remarkable. Loyal to enthusiasm, but slighted by his Sovereign; of the most spotless honour and integrity, but never trusted; equally distinguished by his skill and bravery in the military profession, to which he had dedicated his life, and uniformly checked in every enterprise he proposed; uniting in his veins the highest blood of the land, and subjected to the mortifying controul of inferiors, in an age too when illustrious birth usually furnished the strongest claim to respect: he sunk into the grave at an early age, at once an ornament and a disgrace to his time, leaving a sad memorial of disregarded merits, and unrequited services.

His birth was indeed very noble, for he descended maternally from the great Houses of Ferrers, Bourchier, and Grey, from the first of which his paternal ancestors had derived the Barony of Ferrers of Chartley: his grandfather, Walter, Lord Ferrers, had been by Edward the Sixth advanced to the title of Viscount Hereford; his father, Sir Richard Devereux, who did not live to enjoy the titles, took to wife Dorothy, daughter of George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, and he was the eldest son of that marriage. He was born about the year 1540, and succeeded to the honours and estates of his family in the nineteenth year of his age, on the death of his grandfather. His good sense, his politeness, and his learning, for he had been excellently educated,

placed him, for a time, so high in Elizabeth's favour, that she once styled him, in a letter under her own hand, " the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility." He was anxious, however, to build his fame on a larger basis than the graces and accomplishments of a courtier, and eagerly seized the opportunity which the rebellion in the North of 1569 offered to him, at once to render a signal service to his Sovereign, and to establish a military reputation. On that occasion, he joined the Queen's forces with a considerable body of troops, raised and equipped at his own charge, and so contributed materially to the speedy dispersion of the insurgents. He received an especial, though rather deferred, reward, for in 1572 the Earldom of Essex, a dignity which formerly had been held by his ancestors, the Bourchiers, was conferred on him, and that service is particularly stated in the preamble to his patent. Elizabeth thought fit to distinguish his creation by unusual ceremonies, which she concluded by girding on his sword, and placing the coronet on his head, with her own hands. About the same time she gave him the order of the Garter.

In the succeeding year he was enabled to put into practice a plan which, though probably long considered, was less distinguished by its prudence than by a generous spirit of enterprise. Ireland was then the only scene of military operations, and a fierce insurrection reigned, particularly in Ulster. Essex prevailed on the Queen to permit him to volunteer his services there, under a very singular agreement. Brian Mac Phelim, more frequently called " the great O'Neil," a powerful chief, had possessed himself of the most part of the district of Clanhughboy, in that province, from which the Earl undertook to dislodge him, on condition that Elizabeth should grant to the conquerors and their commander, one half of the subdued district, for the defence of which he stipulated to maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and, to furnish himself with the means, he borrowed ten thousand pounds of the Queen, on mortgage of his estates in Essex. It has been said, and there seems little

reason to doubt it, that the Queen's consent to this romantic expedition was obtained chiefly through the intercession of his enemy Leicester, who watched his growing favour with a jealous eye, and had used every artifice to flatter and encourage his inclination, and to procure the dispatch to a distance of a rival whom he dreaded. Essex, although perhaps as much distinguished by an acute penetration as by the noble simplicity of his mind, seems to have been unconscious of this design to the last; but he foresaw other difficulties, and set out on his journey with a heavy heart. The two following letters to the Treasurer Burghley, from the originals in the Harleian collection, while they prove that fact, will be found to throw a strong, and very advantageous light on the Earl's character: we find too, in the second no inconsiderable proof of the wisdom of Elizabeth.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L.

I have passed the assurance of v$^{c\ lb}$ land to the Quene's Ma^{te}, after suche sort as her Ma$^{te's}$ Counsell hathe devised, as shall appere unto you by M^{r} Attorney's certificat. I shall nowe desyre your L. to send your warrant to S^{r} Thom$\tilde{s}$ Gresham for delyvery of the moneye unto me. My L. Chamberlen told me yesterday that he hathe sent unto your L. the articles touching the comission for gov$\tilde{n}$ement of the contrey for a tyme, and of those I carry wth me. I praye your L. after you have considered of them to direct your warrant for the making of the comission. Yf your L. do not come shortli unto the Court, I shall desyre you to wryte to my L. Chamberlen, and my Lord of Leicester, to further my dispatche. I have vearie greate busynes to do in the contrey after I have done here, and therefore wold I be gladlie dispatched hence. I meane not to tarry long after my patent and comission are sealed.

I here y^{t} your L. rides to your house at Burghley. I desyre that I maye knowe the tyme of your returne to the Court, or to your house at Theobalds. Yf your L. do not returne before the last of this monethe, I will then wayte uppon you at Burghley.

I do, my Lord, make my reconyng of your L. to be my assured pillar; and if I did not hope that, assuredlie I wold not have taken the jorney in hand, if the Quene had given me the x thowsand pounds she lent me. I loke for to find enymyes enoughe to this enterprise, and I feele of some of them alredye. I praye your L. that you will, when your leysure will serve you, set downe what course you thinck beste for me to take for the order of those people I carry w^t^ me, and fynd there. As I do onlye repose my trust uppon you, so will I be only directed by you.

When your L. wrytes unto my Lord Deputie of Ireland I praye you that you will desyre his favour and furtherance to me in this enterprise. He shall fynd me as ready to do any service there to her Majestie, undernethe him, and to get any honour unto him, as he shall fynd any man. He is a gentleman whom I have ev^r^ loved, and lyked well of, and I have good hope I shall fynd him my frend; and yet some susipic̄on have I had of late of yt, by reason of some speche that hath passed from his nere frends.

Thus, resting ev^r^ at yo^r^ L.' comandement, I shall comyt you to the Lord. From Duresme Place, this xxii of June, 1573.

Your Lordship's at comaundement,

W. Essex.

May it please your L.

Yesterday I was at the Courte, and dyd take my leave of her Ma^tie^. She hathe signed all my books, and I am dep̄ted from her Ma^tie^ w^t^ verie good words, and promyse of her favour and furtherance to this enterprise. Uppon the taking of my leave, she told me that she had two speciall things to advise me of: the one was that I should have considerac̄on of the Irishe there, whiche she thought had become her disobedient subjects rather because they have not byn defended from the force of the Scotts than for any other cause. Her Ma^tie's^ opynion was that, uppon my comyng, they wold yeld themselves good subjects, and therefore wyshed them to be well used. To this, my L., I answered that I determyned to deale so w^th^ them as I shuld fynd beste for

her service when I came there; and, for the present, I could not saye what is beste to be done; but this her Ma^tie^ shold be sure of; that I wold not imbrue my hands w^h^ more blud than the necessitie of the cause requireth. The other speciall matter was that I shuld not seeke too hastely to bring people that hathe byn trayned in another religion from that w^ch^ they have been brought uppe in. To this, I answered that, for the present, I thought it was best to lerne them to knowe ther aliegence to her Ma^tie^, and to yeld her their due obedience; and, after they had lerned that, they would be easily brought to be of good religion. Muche more speches besids passed betweene her Ma^tie^ and me, whiche were of no greate importance, and therfore I wryte them not to yo^r^ L.

I am, my L. dep̃ted from the Court w^t^ many good and fayre promises of diverse, but of the p̃formance of them I knowe not what assurance I may make. I repose my onlie truste uppon your L. Your honorable dealing w^t^ me, both in this, and at all tymes before, hathe byn suche as hath bound me ever to be at your L'. comandement. And so I rest, and humbly take my leave of yo^r^ L. From Duresme House, this xx^th^ of Julie, 1573.

At your L'. comandement,

W. Essex.

On the sixteenth of August following he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lords Darcy and Rich, and many other persons of distinction, together with a multitude of volunteers of inferior rank, who followed his fortune in the hope of mending their own. They were disappointed, and abandoned him soon after his arrival in Ireland, and this was the first of the long series of misfortunes which attended his expedition. Weakened by their defection, he besought the Queen to let him prosecute the service in her name, and under her command, and offered to discharge a moiety of the expense from his own purse, but his request was denied. He then applied to Sussex, Leicester, and Burghley, to induce her to aid his diminished force with one hundred horse, and six hundred foot, but that too was refused. In the mean

time his chagrin was increased by the malice of the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam. Elizabeth, whose sagacity had foreseen the probable jealousy of that officer, had endeavoured to avert it by leaving to him the honour of granting the Earl's commission, the delivery of which he contemptuously delayed for many months. When Essex received it, he was earnestly employed in fortifying Clanhughboy, which in fact was the main object of his plan; but the messenger brought him positive orders from the Deputy to abandon immediately that part of the Island, and to pursue the Earl of Desmond. He obeyed, in silent grief, and had the good fortune, rather by persuasion than force, to reduce that formidable chief to submission. He gained great honour in this, and indeed in all the conduct of his first campaign; yet, says Camden, "with these actions was the year well nigh spent in Ireland, to no man's advantage, but to Essex's great damage."

Convinced, thus early, that all his endeavours would be sacrificed to the envy of the Deputy, and the secret influence of Leicester, and doubtful of the ability of his force to cope with the enemy, he requested permission in the beginning of the following year to treat with their leader, and was refused. He then surrendered his government of Ulster, was soon after suddenly obliged by the Deputy to resume it, and once more to march far from thence against the insurgents, to whom, when he unexpectedly found himself on the point of subduing them, he was peremptorily instructed to offer terms of peace. Still he obeyed. He concluded a treaty, even honourable to his Sovereign and to himself; and again returned into Ulster, which, in his absence, had been invaded by the Hebridian Scots. He presently dispossessed them of the tract of country which they had gained, and pursued them to their own islands, on which he was establishing military posts, when, without the assignment of any reason for so cruel an insult, he was deprived of his command; and required to serve at the head only of three hundred men, with the mere title of their captain. Elizabeth felt for his hardships, and indeed may be considered as having shared in his indignities; but, such

was her blind submission to the will of the detestable Leicester, that she durst not openly protect him. In the midst of his vexations of this year, Burghley, whose friendship for him Essex appears to have justly estimated, vainly recommended it to her to appoint him to succeed his enemy, Fitzwilliam, in the office of Lord Deputy—a new circumstance in his story, which is communicated to us by the following letter, from an original in the same collection with those before inserted, abounding with indirect allusions to the misconduct of that officer.

My Good Lorde,

Yt greaveth me that I shoulde so often trouble yo^{r} L. as I doe, but necessitie doth compell me, for I finde none whoe is carefull of myselfe, or my a$\tilde{c}$ions, but yo^{r} selfe. I wille not trouble your L. wth a longe discourse of the state of things here, but wille referre you to the l$\tilde{r}$es written to my LL. of the Counsaill.

We have expected here the cominge of S^{r} Henrye Sydney theise two monethes, but that brute beginneth now to dye. Suerly my L. the daylie lookinge for of a chaunge dothe great harme; for duringe this interim is the greatest spoile comitted, because all the ylle disposed now robbe and steale, hopinge that the newe governor will pardon all done before his tyme. God send us shortlie a settled governor, and such a one as is fytte for Ireland, not Ireland fytte for him. This people waxe proude: yea, the best might be amended: all nede correction.

I understand by divers of my freinds that your L. hathe both wished and laboured to place me in this unfortunate office. There is juste cause whie I shoulde thinke myselfe moste depelie bounde to you for yt, for I knowe yo^{r} L. wishethe yt for my good; but the feare of envie, and of evill assistaunce, dothe so much discourage me to take yt, as I assure you, my L., I wishe yt rather to any man that were fytte for it then to myselfe. I knowe that as the enterteinm^{t} is honorable, so is the charge great, and the burden hevie: and whoe shall serve the Q. and his countrye

faithfullie shall have his payne a rewarde for his travaile: but, yf he wille respect his gayne more then his Prince, countrie, or honestie, then may he make his gayne unmercifull.

Because I will shortlie send againe, I wille not trouble your L. longer, but wille conclude wth my humble thanks for the money w^{ch} yo^{r} L. hathe p̃cured me, w^{ch} I assure you was muche neded. God preserve yo^{r} L. longe in healthe and honor. From the Newrye, the 28 of August, 1574.

Your L.' most bounden,

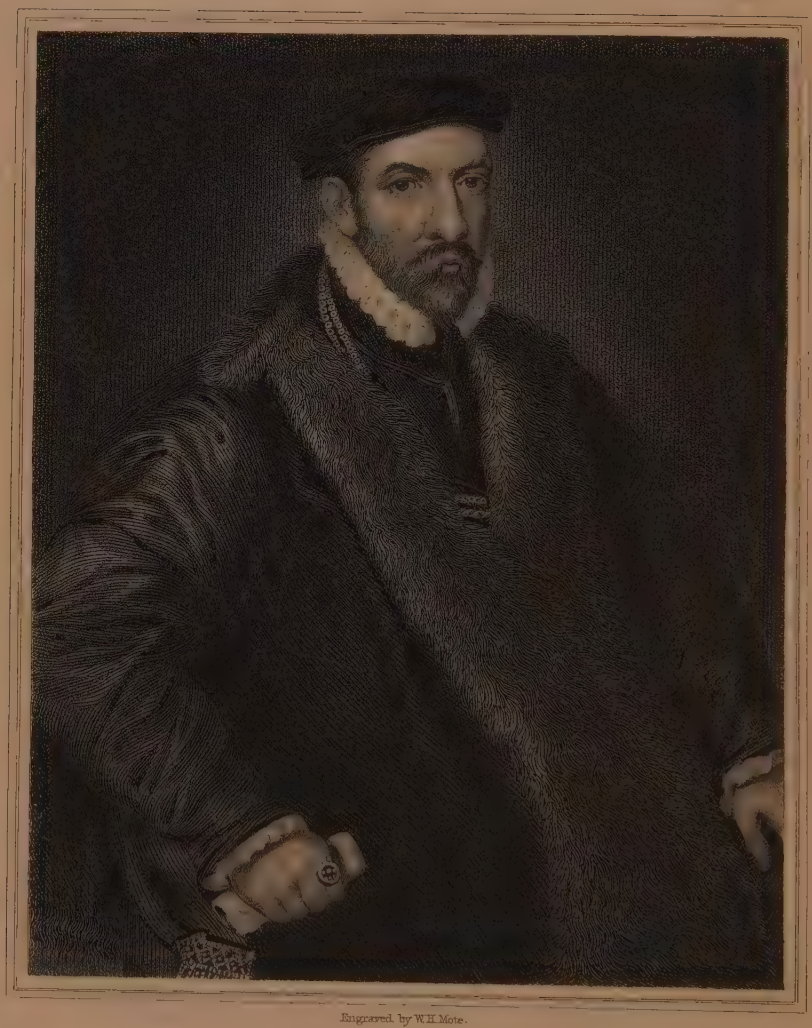
W. Essex.

Having remonstrated in vain, both to the Queen and the Privy Council, by letters equally spirited and judicious, which may be found in Collins's Sidney Papers, he returned to England in the spring of the following year. He had been long apprised of Leicester's treachery towards him, and now gave vent to his indignation, with all the courage and candour which belonged to his character; yet that prodigious hypocrite not only found means to appease him, but even dared to proffer his friendship, and, in the end, persuaded Essex to grasp at the deceitful phantom. He was induced once more to return to Ireland, with general promises of better usage, and more extensive powers; and with the dignified but inefficient office of Earl Marshal in that kingdom, granted to him at Leicester's special intreaty. On his arrival there, however, he found the same baleful influence still prevailing against him. All his counsels were slighted; all his active endeavours thwarted; all his motives misrepresented. He survived but few months. Those who had spared no pains to blast all his views of honour and happiness industriously reported that he died of a broken heart, or, in other words, of a dysentery produced by grief. They certainly were best qualified to draw that inference from their own conduct; but the rumour was discredited. The strongest suspicions of poison had been excited; and his friends, who indeed composed the nation, for no man was more

generally beloved and admired, pointed with one accord at Leicester as the murderer. Three minutely particular accounts of his illness are extant in print; the first, in the pamphlet called Leicester's Commonwealth; the second, which has been attributed to Essex's beloved and faithful retainer, Sir Edward Waterhouse, in Hearne's preface to his edition of Camden's Annals; and the third, in a letter from Sir Henry Sidney, at that time Lord Deputy, to Sir Francis Walsingham, in the Sidney Papers. The first and the last of these may be reasonably suspected of opposite partiality. The object of the one was to load Leicester's memory with every possible imputation; that of the other, to screen it from censure. Sidney, indeed, was married to Leicester's sister, and it detracts nothing from his most honourable character, that he should have laboured to avert from his brother-in-law so horrible a charge. Waterhouse's very curious narrative, (if it were his) is given with great candour. The opinion, however, of the writer may be inferred from the words with which it commences: "Walter, the noble Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of Ireland, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter, falling sick on a laske, as it was supposed, called Dysenteria, through adustion of choler, on Friday the twenty-first of August (or whether it were of any other accident, the living God knoweth, and will revenge it) he was grievously tormented by the space of twenty-two days," &c. If this account be correct, of which there seems little room to doubt, the Earl died on the eleventh or twelfth of September 1576; Dugdale, however, citing good authority, fixes his death to the twenty-second of that month. He was buried at Caermarthen, the place of his nativity.

Walter, Earl of Essex, married Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knollys, K. G. and left issue by her two sons; Robert, his successor, the accomplished, imprudent, and unfortunate favourite of Elizabeth; and Walter; and two daughters; Penelope, first married to Robert, Lord Rich, afterwards to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire; and Dorothy, wife, first, of Sir Thomas Perrot,

secondly, of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Some considerable time following the Earl's death had elapsed when it was suddenly discovered, to the astonishment and disgust of the nation, and in confirmation of former suspicions, that Leicester had privately married the widowed Countess almost immediately after the decease of her ill-fated consort.



Engraved by W.H.Mote.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

OB. 1579.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published the 1st June 1838, by Harding & Lepard, 127 Pall Mall East.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

FULLER, Lloyd, and other professed dealers in florid characters, have given this gentleman credit for the most exalted talents and acquirements. Careless as such writers are of fact, it would be too much to ascribe these encomiums merely to imagination, but certainly the history of the memorable period during a great part of which he held one of the first offices in the state passes him over with very little notice, and even the meagre intelligence which it affords us of him is frequently confused by misrepresentation and inconsistency. It may be gathered however that he was mild, prudent, and unambitious; qualities which should bespeak rather an honest than a splendid fame; that he sought rather to be a useful minister than a refined politician; that he loved retirement, and rural occupations, and possessed the temper and the faculties which make men agreeable to themselves and to others in the intercourse of private life; and that the maxim which he chose for his motto probably denoted the character of his mind, as well as regulated his conduct—"Mediocria Firma."

He was the second son of Robert Bacon, of Drinkston, in Suffolk, a descendant from a family of respectable antiquity in that county, by Isabella, daughter of John Gage, of Pakenham, also in Suffolk, and was born at Chislehurst, in Kent, in the year 1510. Of his education we know only that it was completed at Bennet College in Cambridge, or rather at Paris, whither he went for some time on leaving the university: on his return he studied the law in Gray's Inn, and is said to have been distinguished at

an early age, as well for his extensive knowledge of it as for his eloquence at the bar. We have no account of the circumstances which introduced him to public employment, but there can be little doubt that he was one among the many subordinate agents in the Reformation. He had been bred in the new mode of faith, and professed it through his life with a warmth of zeal scarcely consistent with the placidity of his character. The first favours too which he received from the Crown were derived from that great fund on which Henry usually charged the rewards of such persons, for they consisted in a grant of the manors of Botesdale and Gillingham, and the manor and park of Redgrave, portions of the estate of the monastery of Bury St. Edmund's. These were conferred on him in 1544, and he was about the same time appointed Solicitor to the Court of Augmentation, and two years after Attorney to the Court of Wards. We have no further intelligence of him during that reign, except that he formed, and presented to the King, a plan for the foundation of a great college, which was designed to embrace all subjects of modern learning, and to be devoted, as it should seem, to the education of those designed for the service of the state. Its main objects were, to cultivate the utmost purity in the knowledge of the Latin and French tongues; to read and debate in those languages on all subjects of public policy; and to form historical collections and treatises regarding general systems of government, and their several practical features of domestic management and foreign negotiation; and the students were at length to be perfected in these arts by travelling in the suites of the King's foreign ministers. It is almost needless to say that the scheme was never put into execution.

He passed the reign of Edward the Sixth without further promotion, and that of Mary without persecution. Elizabeth, in her first year, 1558, gave him the custody of the Great Seal, with the style of Lord Keeper, by a patent dated on the twenty-second of December, and soon after knighted him, and admitted him of her Privy Council. It is highly probable, not to disparage

his professional merits, that he owed this sudden and splendid advancement in a great measure to the friendship of Cecil, with whom he lived in much intimacy and confidence, and whose wife's sister he had married; and that it was through the same influence that the Queen, and at length the Parliament, were afterwards induced to invest his office, for the first time, with all the authorities and privileges of the Chancellorship, the faculties of his predecessors in the place of Lord Keeper having extended little further than to the mere sealing of patents. He gained, and very deservedly, much credit by his judicious treatment, in Elizabeth's first Parliament, of the great question of her legitimacy, and it was under his auspices that two bills were passed, the one for recognising her title to the crown, the other for restoring her in blood as heir to her mother, silently leaving untouched the act by which her father had bastardized her. On this policy Fuller, to give him his due, says well—"He was condemned by some who seemed wise, and commended by those who were so, for not causing that statute to be repealed whereby the Queen was made illegitimate, for this wise statesman would not open that wound which time had partly closed, and would not meddle with the variety, yea contrariety, of statutes in this kind, whereby people would rather be perplexed than satisfied, but derived her right from another statute, which allowed her succession, the rather because lawyers maintain that a crown once worn cleareth all defects of the wearer thereof,"—a doctrine too desperate to be resorted to but in extreme cases, and Elizabeth's was then of that description.

He was appointed in the beginning of the following year to preside at the conference held before the two Houses of Parliament between the leading clergy of the two churches on their main points of difference, an office for which he was very unfit, being, as Camden in speaking of it observes, "a very indifferent divine, and a professed enemy to the papists." This debate, which was instituted with no other motive than to impress on the minds of Elizabeth's subjects of both persuasions a notion of her

impartiality and candour, was of course abortive. The protestants entered on it with the haughtiness of anticipated triumph, and the catholics refused to engage in any discussion to which the Pope's supremacy was not made a preliminary. They desired to retire, and Bacon, after repeatedly urging them in vain to go on, dismissed them with this indirect threat—"For that ye will not that we should hear you, perhaps you may shortly hear of us." Some of them were accordingly committed soon after to the Tower, and the rest were bound to appear before the Privy Council, and to remain within the limits of London and Westminster.

His steady aversion to popery, joined to the legal acuteness and uprightness with which he administered the affairs of his court, and the regular method which he introduced into the deliberations of the Privy Council, placed him high in Elizabeth's favour. "She relied on him," says Camden, "as the very oracle of the law." He avoided as much as possible any concern in political intrigues, but the family connexion lately mentioned, as well as his own inclination and judgment, led him to act with what was called the Cecilian party; and this bias, joined to a bitter dislike to the Queen of Scots, chiefly on the score of her religion, induced him to oppose with imprudent openness not only the proposal for a marriage between that Princess and the favourite Leicester, but also the arguments for her succession to the throne, both of which Elizabeth seemed for the time inclined to countenance. Leicester became hereupon his implacable enemy, and accused him to the Queen of having been concerned, as indeed he probably was, in the composition of a tract, published in 1564, under the name of John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, with the title of "A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England," in which the right was asserted to be in the issue of the Earl of Hertford by the Lady Catherine Grey, a doctrine peculiarly odious to Elizabeth. Hales was committed to the Fleet prison, and then to the Tower, and Bacon was forbidden the Court, deprived of his seat in the Privy Council, and restricted from any concern in public affairs beyond those of

the Court of Chancery, from which also Leicester used his utmost efforts to persuade the Queen to remove him. He remained for many months in disgrace, and wrote during that interval a sort of recantation, which will be presently more particularly mentioned, in which he asserted the right of succession in the line of Stuart, still however stoutly insisting on the exclusion of Mary. At the earnest intercession, as our historians say, of Cecil, he was at length restored to the exercise of his former functions, and to the Queen's favour, which for the remainder of his life he enjoyed without interruption.

The fact probably is, that the true motive to Elizabeth's esteem for him may be ascribed to his inveteracy against Mary; and that his temporary suspension, and her seeming anger, were mere artifices used to appease the vexation of Leicester, and to silence the importunities of the Scottish ambassador, the Bishop of Rosse, who had loudly demanded justice against the authors and patrons of the tract in question. He was placed at the head of the second commission appointed, in 1568, to hear Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots; and the meeting in 1571 of Elizabeth's ministers and Mary's delegates, at which it was demanded, as the price of Mary's liberty, that some of the chief nobility, and principal fortresses of Scotland, should be placed in Elizabeth's hands, was held in his house, where, the Scots objecting to these proposals, Bacon broke up the conference, exclaiming, says Camden, "All Scotland, your Prince, nobles, and castles, are too little to secure the Queen, and the flourishing kingdom of England." It is scarcely necessary to observe that this mode of dealing was exactly suited to Elizabeth's taste. In the following year the Papists endeavoured to avenge Mary's cause, and their own, by the publication in France of a most bitter pamphlet, with the title of "A Treatise of Treason," in which they charged Bacon as "a traitor to the state of England," and loaded him with every sort of obloquy. This libel, which was carefully dispersed in every part of England, was so highly resented by Elizabeth that she condescended to justify him, and others of her

ministers who were vilified in it, by a special proclamation, and commanded that all the copies of the book should be forthwith given up under severe penalties and burned. With regard to his public life we have no further communication.

He built a mansion on his estate of Redgrave, and another at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, to which last he added gardens of great extent, in the contrivance and decoration of which every feature of the bad taste of his time was abundantly lavished. It was at the former of these houses that Elizabeth, making him a visit, and having observed that it was too small for him, he answered, "No, Madam, my house is not too small for me, but your Majesty has made me too great for my house." Doubtless he meant in the quaint spirit of that day, which always strained a jest too far, to give his repartee the advantage of a double allusion, for he was, it seems, enormously bulky; and it is most singular that Camden, in the short but grave character which he has left us of the Lord Keeper's mind, should have commenced by mentioning that defect in his person: "Vir præpinguis, ingenio acerrimo, singulari prudentiâ, summa eloquentiâ, tenaci memoriâ, et sacris conciliis alterum columen." It is recorded indeed by his own pen, in the commencement of the rough draft of a letter to Elizabeth, remaining in the Harleian Collection, the terms of which may serve too as an apology for the opinion which I have presumed to hint of the mediocrity of his talents—"My most gracious Sovereign; I will, wth all humblenes pray pardon of your Ma^{te} that I presume by l^{res} to doe that w^{ch} bounden dutie and service requireth to be done in p'sone. Oh, good Madame, not of an unwillinge harte and mynde, but of an unhable and unweldie bodie, is the only cause of this; and yet the bodie, suche as it is (as alegiance and a number benefits binds) every day, yea and every howere, is and shalbe readie, at yo' Highnes' commaundement, and so should they be, if I had as good as any man hathe," &c.

He endowed his college with six scholarships, and gave more than a hundred manuscripts to its library. Only two publica-

tions appear to be extant from his pen; the one entitled, "Arguments exhibited in Parliament, whereby it is proved that the persons of Noblemen are attachable by Law for Contempts committed in the High Court of Chancery," 4to, 1641; and the other, on a subject which has been already here spoken of—"The Right of Succession to the Crown of England in the Family of the Stuarts, exclusive of Mary Queen of Scots, asserted and defended against Sir Anthony Browne." This latter tract, which did not appear till 1723, professes to have been published from the original manuscript by Nathaniel Booth, of Gray's Inn, Esq.

He died on the twentieth of February, 1579. Mallet, in his life of the great Bacon, tells us, without stating his authority, that Sir Nicholas being "under the hands of his barber, and the weather very sultry, had ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, he presently fell asleep in the current of fresh air that was blowing in on him, and awaked after some time, distempered all over. 'Why,' said he to the servant, 'did you leave me thus exposed?' The fellow replied that he durst not presume to disturb him. 'Then,' said the Lord Keeper, 'by your civility I lose my life;' and so removed into his bedchamber, where he died a few days after." He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, under a superb monument, erected by himself, inscribed with the following lines by the hand of George Buchanan—

"Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum,
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen, exitium malis,
Bonis asylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem sors, sed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, pietas, unica et prudentia.
Neu morte raptum crede, quia unica brevi
Vita perennes emeruit duas: agit
Vitam secundam cælites inter animus:
Fama implet orbem vita quæ illi tertia est.
Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata sempiternæ memoriæ."

He married, first, Jane, daughter of William Fernely, of West-

Creting, in Suffolk, by whom he had three sons; Sir Nicholas, who was the first Baronet created on the institution of that order; Nathaniel, of Stiffkey, in Norfolk; and Edward, of Shrubland Hall, in Suffolk; and three daughters: Anne, wife of Sir Henry Wodehouse, of Waxham, in Norfolk; Jane, married first to Sir Francis Wyndham, a judge of the Common Pleas, secondly, to Sir Robert Mansfield; and Elizabeth, who was thrice married, first to Sir Robert D'Oyley, of Chiselhampton, in Oxfordshire; secondly, to Sir Henry Nevil; thirdly, to Sir William Periam, a Baron of the Exchequer. Sir Nicholas married, secondly, Anne, daughter and coheir of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister of Lady Burghley, by whom he had two sons; Anthony; and Francis, the chancellor, the philosopher, and the great honour and disgrace to his name and family.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

OB. 1579.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION AT

MERCER'S HALL, LONDON.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

It has been reported that this great Patriarch of commerce, and of commercial finance, issued from the lowest origin, nay even that he was a foundling. An old woman, says this tradition, who was led by the chirping of grasshoppers to the spot where he was exposed, carried him to her cottage, and nursed him, and therefore he chose a grasshopper for his crest. It is inconceivable how such silly falsehoods can gain currency in the face of facts of extensive notoriety. He was descended from a family of respectable antiquity and possessions in Norfolk, which derived its name from that of the parish in which it had originally been seated. His father, Sir Richard, and his uncle, Sir John, who were the third and fourth sons of his grandfather, John Gresham of Holt, in that county, were bred to trade; acquired great wealth; and each of them served the offices of Alderman and Lord Mayor. He was the third and youngest son of Sir Richard Gresham, by his first wife, Audrey, daughter of William Lynn, of Southwick, in Northamptonshire, and was born in the year 1519.

His father had for many years exercised the employment in which he himself became afterwards so conspicuous, that of agent for the Crown with the trading interest, or as it was called, King's Merchant, an office of the highest importance and trust, inasmuch as it united the duty of raising money for the royal occasions by private loans, with that of protecting and cherishing the sources from which they were derived. In this, as well as in his own

great commercial concerns, it is pretty evident that he designed his son Thomas for his successor, especially as he was regularly bound an apprentice to his uncle Sir John, and afterwards admitted into the Mercers' Company; yet he was bred a scholar, and acquired no mean fame in the University of Oxford, since Dr. Caius, in his Annals of Gonville and Caius College, says of him, "Una nobiscum per juventutem hujus Collegii pensionarius erat Thomas Gresham, nobilis ille et doctissimus mercator, qui forum mercatorium Londini extruxit," &c. On the death of his father however, which occurred in 1548, Edward the Sixth's Council appointed a Sir William Dansell to the office of royal money agent, who took up his residence in that character at Antwerp, where the trade and wealth of our part of Europe was at that time in a manner monopolised, and from whence the supplies which the profuseness of the preceding reign had rendered so needful had been from time to time drawn, under circumstances of disadvantage to the Crown, which resulted rather from an imperfect knowledge of a right economy in the negotiation of loans than from any inclination to fraud or carelessness. Dansell continued there for a short time, with so little benefit to the King's affairs that it was found necessary to send him letters of recal, which he disobeyed, and Gresham, who, with other merchants, had been called before the Privy Council to advise on the best means of discharging the King's debts, and of procuring future supplies, was sent to Antwerp to supersede him, and presently acquired the highest credit, both there and at home, by the activity, prudence, and fidelity, which distinguished his performance of the duties of his office.

On the accession of Mary, probably on the score of religion, for he seems to have been a zealous protestant, he was dismissed from this employment. Conscious however that his abilities to execute it were unrivalled, and fearful that the fruition of his projects should be delayed by the mismanagement of ignorant competitors, he ventured instantly to present to the Queen a memorial, stating, with a boldness of expression very unusual at that time, his services

to her late brother, and conceived with such force and dexterity, that while it concluded without any direct request, it left her scarcely at liberty to do otherwise in common prudence than to re-instate him. This curious piece, which is of great length, has fortunately been preserved, and it would be difficult to give a clearer idea of the nature of his services, or of the mode in which he performed them, than by citing some extracts from it in his own words. Having stated diffusely the circumstances which, as has been here already observed, led to his appointment by King Edward, whose debts in this way of private contract he says amounted at that time to two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, he proceeds thus—

"Before I was called to serve there was no other means devised to bring the King out of debt but to transport the treasure out of the realme, or else by way of exchange, to the great abasing of the exchange, for a pound of our current money then brought in value but sixteen shillings Flemish; and for lack of payment there at the days appointed, to preserve his Majesty's credit with all, to prolong time also upon interest, which interest, besides the loss of the exchange, amounteth unto forty thousand pounds by year; and in every such prolongation his Majesty was enforced to take great part in jewels or wares, to his extreme loss and damage; of which forty thousand pounds loss for interest yearly I have by my travail clearly discharged the said King every penny, without which prevention the Queen's Majesty had been indebted at this her entry into the imperial Crown the sum of four hundred thousand pounds; besides the saving of the treasure within the realm; without taking of jewels or wares, to the King's disadvantage. Whereas at the time of my entry into the office I found the exchange at sixteen shillings the pound, I found the means nevertheless, without any charge to the King, or hindrance of any other, to discharge the King's whole debts as they grew due, at twenty shillings, and two and twenty shillings the pound; whereby the King's Majesty, and now the Queen, hath saved one hundred

thousand marks clear. By reason that I raised the exchange from sixteen shillings unto two and twenty shillings, whereunto it yet remaineth, all foreign commodities be fallen, and sold after the same value, to the enriching of the subjects of the realm, in small process of time, above three or four hundred thousand pounds. It is assuredly known that when I took this service in hand the King's Majesty's credit on the other side was small; and yet afore his death he was in such credit, both with strangers and his own merchants, that he might have had what sum of money he had desired, whereby his enemies began to fear him, for his commodities of his realm, and power amongst Princes, was not known before; which credit the Queen's Highness hath obtained, if she were in necessity for money at this present day. To the intent to work this matter secretly for the raising of the exchange I did only use all my own credit with my substance and friends. To the intent to prevent the merchants, both strangers and English, who always lay in wait to prevent my devices when the exchange fell to raise it again, I bare some one time loss of my own monies, as the King's Majesty and his Council well knew, two or three hundred pounds, and this was divers times done; besides the credit of fifty thousand pounds which I took by exchange in my own name, without using the King's name. For the accomplishment of the premises I not only left the realm, with my wife and family, my occupying and whole trade of living, by the space of two years, but also posted in that time forty times, upon the King's sending, at the least, from Antwerp to the Court; besides the practising to bring these matters to effect; the infinite occasion of writing also to the King and his Council; with the keeping of reckonings and accompts only by my own hand writing, for mistrust in so dangerous a business of preventers, whereof were store too many; until I had clearly discharged all the foresaid debt, to the great benefit of the realm, and profit of the Queen; for in case this debt had been let alone, and deferred upon interest four years or five, her Majesty should have found it amount

to fifteen hundred thousand pounds at the least, which, God be praised, is ended, and therefore careless at this day."

Having thus recited his services, he demands an audience of the Queen; for, says he, "nevertheless hitherto do I perceive that those which served before me, which brought the King in debt, and took wares and jewels up to the King's great loss, are esteemed and preferred for their evil service, and contrarywise, myself discountenanced and out of favour for my diligence and good service taken to bring the King and Queen's Highness out of debt clear, which understanding of my service that her Majesty may take in good part is as much as I required." Edward had not been ungrateful to him. "It pleased the King's Majesty," adds he, "to give unto me one hundred pounds, to me and my heirs for ever, three weeks before his death, and promised me then with his own mouth that he would hereafter see me rewarded better, saying, 'I should know that I served a King.'" Why he chose to mention this trifling gift, and to be silent as to the valuable grants of a monastic estate in the county of Caermarthen, and of the reversion of the priory of Westacre in Norfolk, both which he received in that reign, it is not easy to conceive. His memorial, aided probably by interest, was successful: Mary restored him to his post, which he filled during the whole of her reign; and Elizabeth continued him in it, with increased favour, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on him soon after her accession.

Numerous details of his negotiations remain in our public collections, and in the cabinets of the curious, but the ordinary transactions of a mercantile agent, however enlarged, can possess little to recommend them to general attention. He became enormously wealthy when he had scarcely passed the prime of life. He had married early, and his wife brought him an only son, whom he had the great misfortune to lose, at the age of sixteen, in 1564. The enthusiasm which in minds above the common character attends acute grief, produces sometimes extraordinary consequences. Gresham, immediately after the death of his

son, determined on the execution of a grand design, which is said to have been conceived by his father, to erect at his own expense a public edifice, after the fashion of the great commercial cities of the continent, for the meeting of the merchants of London, who had been used to transact their business, exposed to the weather, in Lombard Street, or, most indecently, in Saint Paul's Cathedral. In aid of this splendid purpose the corporation purchased and removed eighty houses, which then stood on the site of the projected building, and gave him regular possession of the ground, and towards the end of the year 1567 the Royal Exchange, or, as it was first called, "Britain's Burse," was completed and opened for use; a monument almost unparalleled to the generosity of a private individual. It was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, but a very correct judgment of its magnificence, and of the great charge of its erection, may be formed from the building, yet remaining, by which the city, and the company of mercers, immediately replaced it, with very little deviation from the original plan, at the expense of eighty thousand pounds. Nor was he inattentive to those ostentations which were by no means unbecoming in one who stood confessedly at the head of the important class to which he belonged. He had already built, for his own residence, in Bishopsgate Street, a noble mansion, of which it will be necessary presently to speak further, and soon after added to the great purchases, that he had made in many other parts of the kingdom, that beautiful and well-known estate near London, called Osterley Park, which he planted and enclosed, and erected in it another spacious and stately house. In each of these residences he had more than once the honour of entertaining Elizabeth and her court; and it was in one of her visits to Osterley, that, the Queen having observed that the quadrangle within the building was too large, he sent instantly to London for workmen, who, with equal expedition and secrecy, divided it in the course of the same night by building a wall, which when Elizabeth rose she was astonished to find completed, in strict conformity to her criticism—a refined gallantry exactly to her taste.

Gresham indeed seems to have possessed much of the refinement of a courtier, and more of the sagacity of a politician. In his frequent journeys to the Low Countries he had made acute observations on the Spanish policy, and had gained much important intelligence. Elizabeth's ministers, particularly Cecil, courted his advice on many matters, and gave him no small share of their confidence. Thus in 1568, during a great scarcity of coin in England, a large Biscayan ship, which was conveying a great sum in gold and silver to the Duke of Alva for the payment of his troops, having been chased into the harbour of Plymouth, Gresham, who had received intelligence that the money was not the property of the King of Spain, but had been wrested by him from certain merchants of Genoa, apprised Cecil of that fact, and persuaded him to seize it, and send it to the mint, giving security however to the Spanish ambassador to repay the amount when it should be made to appear to whom of right it belonged. Cecil reluctantly complied, and advised Elizabeth accordingly; and the Duke of Alva, enraged and disappointed, caused all the English at Antwerp to be arrested, an outrage which was immediately retaliated on the Spaniards then in London. Cecil, who abhorred violent measures, became alarmed, and was with some difficulty appeased by Gresham's assurance that any future foreign loans to the Crown might be as advantageously negotiated at Hamburgh as at Antwerp, but that it might be reasonably expected that the readiness of our own merchants to make advances would render them unnecessary. An original letter of great curiosity from Gresham to Cecil, in which all these points are touched on, is in the Landsowne collection, in the British Museum. Stowe, who had by some means obtained a perusal of it, has given large extracts from it, almost verbatim, in his Survey of London; and the authors of the Biographia Britannica, quoting Stowe, represent them, from what motive it is not easy to guess, as arguments used by Gresham in a personal conference with the Minister. The letter has a peculiar claim to be inserted in this memoir in its full integrity.

" Right honnorable S^{r}.

This morning I have receaved y^{re}. with my l^{r}res, by my s^{r}rvaunt, wherbie I do perceyve that the monneye whiche remanith in my hands of S^{r}. Will^{m} Garrard, and for the armur, must be paid to the m^{r}chauntes, wherin I shall p^{r}cede with paiment of half their som^{r}es until furder yo^{r}. pleas^{r}. be knowen, for the whiche it maie please you to send me the Q.' Ma$^{tie'}$. warraunt. And, whereas yo^{r}. Honnor doth now think some difficulte to paie any monney to the Q.' Ma$^{tie's}$. creditors beyond the seas, S^{r}., in my opinion youe neede not to make any dowt therof yf her Highnes do see her m^{r}chaunts well paid here in London this first somme, for bie that tyme the other monney shalbe paiable hear bie the Q.' Ma^{tie}. to her said m^{r}chaunts they shall have both plenty of monney at Hamboroughe and heare; assuring you the goodes that o^{r}. m^{r}chaunts hathe shipped from Hambrough hither is well worth c^{Mli}. and better; and the shipping that they make now from hens w^{t}. o^{r}. comodityes is richely worthe VII c^{Mli}., and better, for that ther wilbe above xxx^{Mli}. clothes, the custom wherof wilbe worth to the Q.' Ma^{tie}. at the least x^{Mli}., which will discharg that debt, if it stand so wth. the Q.' Ma$^{t's}$ pleash^{r}.

S^{r}., I do perceyve that the gretest care that youe have is that o^{r}. m^{r}rchaunts shall not have monney inoughe for to by up o^{r}. comodytes, wherin you need not dowbt, co^{r}sidering the good vent they have had at Hamboroughe alredie, and are like to have; therfore I shall most humblie beseche you, for the staie and advauncing of the Q.' Ma$^{t's}$. credit, this small paiment that is agreed upon alredy at Hamborough maie be paid, considering that I have written heretofore to the said creditors they shuld have a paiment made there now this August, whiche paiment will not a little advaunce her Highnes' honnor and credit; and how much her Highnes' credit hathe stand her in steede beyond the seas for reddie monney it is to tedius, and to long a matter, to trowble you wth. all; but if my credit were such that I were able to perswade the Q.' Ma^{tie} and you, I would have that matter now sorowid for above all other things; assuring you, S^{r}., I do know for

certain that the Duke de Alva is more trowbled w^th^. the Q.' Ma^tie's^. gret credit, and w^th^. the vent of her Highnes' commodities at Hamborough, then he is w^th^. any thing els, and quakes for feare, which is one of the chifest things that is the let that the said Duke cannot com by the tenth penny that he now demandeth for the sale of all goods anny kind of waye in the Lowe Countrey, w^che^., S^r^., I beleve wilbe his utter undoing. Therefore, S^r^., to conclude, I would wishe that the Q.' Ma^tie^. in this tyme shuld not use any straungers, but her own subjects, wherbie she, and all other Princes, maie se what a Prince of powr she is; and bie this meanes there is no doubt but that her Highnes shall cause the Duke of Alva to know himself, and to make what end with that Lowe Countreys as her Ma^tie^. will herself, what brute soev^r^. is here spredde abrode to the contrary.

S^r^., seeing I am entrid so farre w^th^ youe for the credit of the Q.' Ma^tie^. beyond the seas, wherin I haue travailed this xx yeres, and bie experience in using o^r^. owne m^r^.chaunts I found gret honnor to the Prince, as also gret p̃fit to the m^r^.chaunts, and to the whole realm, whatsoever our m^r^.chaunts saye to the co̲trarye; for when o^r^. Prince ought owr own m^r^.chaunts LX or IIII^xxMii^. then they knew themselves, and were dailie reddie to s̃rve as good chepe as straungers did, whiche, S^r^. I wold wishe again in this time of extremity to be usid, for that I knowe o^r^. m^r^.chaunts be able to do yt, because the debt is divided into many menne's hands, and by no meanes cannot hinder them having intrest. Other I have not to molest you w^th^.all, but that as the 12 of this present M^r^. Benedik Spinola brought home to my house a m^r^chaunt of Janua, calid Thomas Ragio, to take his leave of me, to knowe if he could plesure me w^th^. any thing in Flaunders; and, as I thanked him, so, emongs other comunication of p̃fit, and for s^r^.vice by his ministrie, he desired me to be his frend for such monney as the Q.' Ma^tie^. hath of his in the Towr. With that I asked him what his somme was, and he sayed xx or xxx^M^. ducats: but by talke I p̃ceive he hathe muche more with other of his frinds. Now, S^r^., seeing this monney in the Towr dothe app̃rtain

to m^r^.chaunts, I wold wishe the Q.' Ma^tie^. to putt it to the use of some p~ fitt; as to mynt it into her owne coyne, wherbye she shall be a gaynor III or IIII^mil^., and enriche her relm w^th^. so much fyne silv^r^. : and for the re-payment thereof her Highnes maie paie it bie the waie of exchaunge, or otherwise, to her gret fardell and profit; as also her Ma^tie^. maie take it up of the said m^r^.chaunts upon intrest, uppon the bands accustomid, for a yere or twoo, whiche I think they wilbe right glad of; and so w^th^. the said monney her Ma^tie^. maie paie her debts both heare and in Flaunders, to the gret honnor and credit of her Ma^tie^. throughout all Xtendom; as knowith the L. who pres~rve you, with the increse of honnor. From Gresham House, the 14 of August, 1569,

At yo^r^. Honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

S^r^. I most humbly thancke you for the remembrans that yow have of my sewte for my Lady Mary Grey, and for my lande at Oysterley."

Cecil, convinced and encouraged by these arguments, laid them before the Queen, who determined to take the steps recommended by them, and Gresham, to forward the more effectually his advice by his own example, sent, in the succeeding month, to the Tower five sacks of new Spanish reals, each sack weighing nearly one thousand pounds, to be coined for the Queen's use, as his own individual contribution; but he had calculated erroneously on the disposition of the London merchants to lend. He proposed the matter to them, and they, to shift from themselves the odium of a direct refusal, referred it as a public question to the assembly called a common hall, by which, even then distinguished by its vulgar and senseless inclination to oppose indiscriminately all measures instituted by the ministers of the Crown, it was negatived. Gresham treated these persons with the disdain which they merited. Abandoning his original intention of negotiating the loan with privacy, he procured a letter from the Privy Council to the great company of Merchant Adventurers, which may be found

at length in Stowe's Survey, remonstrating with them in plain terms on the subterfuge which had been thus used by many of their members in their individual capacity, and reproaching them with ingratitude to the Crown, which had constantly and carefully forwarded their best interests. The Merchant Adventurers, ashamed not less of the inferior people with whom some of them had thus associated themselves, than of the narrow views with which they had formed that connection, readily agreed to furnish the sum required, and lent Elizabeth sixteen thousand pounds on her bonds, at the then moderate interest of six per cent. She, on her part, testified her gratitude to them, and to Gresham, by honouring him, on the twenty-third of January, 1570, with a visit at his house in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined, and, on returning in the evening by Cornhill, entered the Burse, with more than ordinary pomp, and caused a herald to proclaim that it should thenceforth be called by the name of " the Royal Exchange."

In the summer of 1572 the Queen, resolving to make a progress longer than ordinary, thought fit, from some motive of jealousy of her good citizens of London, now forgotten, to issue a commission rather of an unusual nature, by which the Archbishop of Canterbury, and eight other distinguished persons, were authorized and commanded to assist the Lord Mayor with their counsel for the good government and peace of the city during the absence of herself and her Court and ministers. Sir Thomas Gresham was of the number; the measure was thought to have produced such good effects, that it was always resorted to on similar occasions during that reign; and his name was constantly inserted. It is probable, indeed, considering the importance of his connexion at once with the Court and the city, that the exercise of this office fell chiefly on him. In the following year, through his care and exertions, the Queen's bonds to the London merchants were punctually discharged; and this proof of good faith so fixed his credit, that his future negotiations for similar loans were always managed without distrust or difficulty. In 1576 he was joined in a commission with Burghley, Walsingham and Martin, master of the

Mint, to enquire into the nature of foreign exchanges, and with this appointment his public employment seems to have ended.

He had for some years meditated the foundation of a distinguished place of education for the sons of citizens of London, but seems to have been undetermined where to establish it. Each of the Universities addressed itself to him on this subject, soliciting the preference with that pertinacious importunity generally used by corporate societies; and Gresham, who really seems to have previously hesitated between Oxford and Cambridge, was perhaps induced by this indecorum to fix on London. He resolved to convert his ample dwelling in Bishopsgate Street into a college: to endow it with the revenues arising from the profits of the Royal Exchange, and to place it under the care of the same trustees to whom he had already committed the charge of that superb property. By a deed of the twenty-fourth of May, 1575, and by his last will, dated the fifth of the following July, he vested the latter edifice in the corporation of London and the company of mercers, to be equally enjoyed by them; the City to pay out of its moiety an annual salary of fifty pounds each to four professors of divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry; the mercers to pay the same stipend to three in law, physic, and rhetoric. These professors to reside, and to read their lectures, in his mansion, afterwards called Gresham College, to which he annexed eight almshouses, to be maintained from the same source, which he charged also with liberal pensions to several hospitals and prisons. This laudable and generous institution flourished usefully till the end of the succeeding century, when, the revolution having totally broken down the fences which even till then had kept the different classes of society in some degree distinct from each other, the citizens became too haughty to accept of gratuitous instruction: Gresham College dwindled gradually till the year 1768, when an act was passed for the purchase of it by the commissioners of the Excise: it was pulled down: and the present Excise office was erected on its site. A room, over part of the Exchange, was appointed for the lectures, which have long been in a great measure

discontinued. As the salaries remain, the professorships still exist. All the rest is nearly extinct.

Sir Thomas Gresham died of apoplexy on the twenty-first of November, 1579, and was buried in the parish church of St. Helen, in Bishopsgate Street. By his wife, Anne, daughter of William Ferneley, of West Creting, in Norfolk, and relict of William Read of Fulham, in Middlesex, a merchant of London, he had, as has been observed, an only son, Richard, who died young. He left however a natural daughter, the fruit of an amour with a native of Bruges, whom he gave in marriage, portioned with considerable estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, to Nathaniel, second son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, whose wife was sister to the Lady Gresham.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

OB. 1580.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

HENRY FITZALAN,

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

The first attempt is now made to bring into one view the dispersed relics of this very eminent person's story. In searching for them, regret has been excited at every step by evident presumptions that innumerable circumstances of that story have been long lost in utter oblivion. In the life of a man of exalted rank, not less distinguished by the vigour of his talents than by his honesty and high spirit; continually in the service of the Crown, under four Monarchs the characters of whose minds and tempers, and the policy of whose governments, were dissimilar even to opposition; devoted with the most faithful and unbending resolution to a religion which he saw alternately cherished and proscribed by those Princes, professed and abjured by his compeers; what interesting facts must have occurred! what dangers must he not have encountered, what difficulties must he not have surmounted! Those curiosities, however, have been sacrificed to the dulness or the timidity of the historians of the seventeenth century, and little remains of him but an outline which it is now too late to endeavour to fill up.

Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of Arundel of his family, was born in 1512, the only son of William, the ninth Earl, by Anne, second daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland of the Percys. He had passed the age of thirty before he succeeded, on his father's death, to the titles and great estates of his ancestors, and his life had been till then confined, according to the rule of

domestic subordination which generally prevailed in that time, to the sports of the field, and the festivities and warlike exercises of the Court. In the summer, however, of the following year, 1544, he attended Henry in his splendid voyage to Boulogne, and was appointed, on his arrival there, Field Marshal of the army then employed in the remarkable siege of that town, under the command of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The success of the enterprise was at least completed by his vigilance and courage. In the night of the eleventh of September, after the siege had been carried on for six weeks, he marched the squadron committed to his charge close under the walls, and there awaited the event of a furious discharge of cannon which played on them over his head. It proved fortunate: a breach was effected: and he, at the head of his troops, first entered the town, which two days after capitulated. The King rewarded this service by a grant of the Government of Calais, and of the office of Comptroller of the Royal Household. Henry loved bravery, but he loved yet better implicit obedience, of which he received shortly after from this nobleman a remarkable proof. He had been appointed with others, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, the terms proposed for which had received the unanimous approbation of the Council, but were secretly disliked by the King. Henry, unwilling to disoblige his ministers, permitted them to write in his name to the Earl to conclude the treaty, but in the same hour commanded Cecil, whom he had lately received into much confidence, to repair privately to the Earl, in Scotland, and to tell him that, whatsoever he, the King, had ordered by his letter, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should immediately break up the treaty. Cecil observing to the King, to use the words of my author, "that a message by word of mouth, being contrary to his letter, would never be believed; 'Well,' said the King, 'do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his own choice.' Upon Mr. Cecil's arrival, the Earl of Arundel showed the other commissioners as well the message as the letter: they are all for the letter. He said nothing, but ordered that the message should

be written, and signed by his fellow commissioners; and thereupon immediately broke up the treaty, sending Cecil with the advertisement of it to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud—'What, will he do it, or no?' Cecil replied, that his Majesty might understand that by the enclosed; but then the King, half angry, urged—'Nay, tell me, will he do it, or no?' Being then told it was done, he returned to the Lords, and said, 'Now you will hear news, the fine treaty is broken;' whereto one presently answered, that he who had broke it deserved to lose his head; to which the King straightly replied, that he would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged rather than one such servant as had done it, and therewith commanded the Earl of Arundel's pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent, with letters of thanks, and assurance of favour." Henry, soon after his return, appointed him Lord Chamberlain, and, in his last moments, which indeed were then approaching, distinguished him by naming him one of the guardians of the infant successor.

In the great conflict for power between Seymour and Dudley which agitated the following reign, it was scarcely possible for any eminent person connected with the state or court to remain neuter. The Earl of Arundel, who continued Lord Chamberlain, seems to have endeavoured to keep that course for a time, but at length joined the faction of Warwick, and when the first storm broke out against the Protector, was appointed, partly from confidence, and in some measure in consideration of his high office in the household, one of the six Lords under whose care, or rather in whose custody, the King was placed, to frustrate any attempt by the other party to seize his person. It was not possible, however, that two such men should remain long united. The grand features of Warwick's disposition were, an ambition wholly unprincipled, and a violence of temper which broke through all the bounds of prudence; while Arundel, to use the words of Sir John Hayward, perhaps the only writer of credit who has left us any glimpse of the character of his mind, was, "in his nature

circumspect and slow," as well as of undoubted probity. Scarcely three months had passed, when the Earl was suddenly deprived of his post, and of his seat in the Privy Council, and strange accusations, which have been most obscurely recorded, were preferred against him, and some other great men. All that we can learn on this head is, that he was charged with "having taken away bolts and locks at Westminster" (probably meaning from the palace, where Edward was in a manner imprisoned), and that he "had given away the King's stuff." The tribunal, probably the packed remains of Warwick's Council, which affected to take cognizance of these alleged offences, committed him for a time to the Tower, fined him in twelve thousand pounds, to be paid at the rate of one thousand pounds yearly, and afterwards banished him to one of his country seats. "Doubtless," says Hayward on this head, "the Earl of Warwick had good reason to suspect that they who had the honesty not to approve his purpose would not want the heart to oppose against it."

The Earl of Arundel retired accordingly, and lived in privacy till the King's death, soon after which he appeared among the foremost of the supporters of Mary's title to the Crown; yet Jane Grey, under the advice of her father-in-law, Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, who was perhaps willing to magnify her strength by concealing her weakness, charged those to whom she wrote to levy forces for the furtherance of her claim to make no application to the servants and tenants of Arundel, "relying on them otherwise for her service." The Earl, however, appeared presently after at the great meeting of Mary's friends at Baynard's Castle, and addressed them with a fervour of eloquence and reasoning which has preserved at least the substance of his speech from oblivion. "In this assembly," says Hayward, "the Earl of Arundel fell foul upon Northumberland with the utmost severity. He ran over the history of the late times, and reckoning up every act of mismanagement, cruelty, and injustice, committed in King Edward the Sixth's reign, threw the odium of all upon him only. Then he made expostulating complaints that the children of

Henry the Eighth should, contrary to all right, be thrust from the succession, and professed himself amazed to think how Northumberland had brought such great and noble persons, meaning those present, to so mean servitude as to be made the tools of his wicked designs; for it was by their consent and assistance that the Crown was put upon the daughter of Suffolk, the same Northumberland's daughter-in-law, the sovereignty in fact remaining in him of exercising the most uncontrollable rage and tyranny over their lives and fortunes. To accomplish this usurpation indeed, the cause of religion was pretended; but, though they had forgot the Apostle's advice, 'not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of fear, but for conscience' sake;' yet who, he asked, had seen cause to think that in matters of religion Queen Mary intended any alteration? for, when she was lately addressed about this in Suffolk, she had (which indeed was true) given a very fair satisfactory answer; and 'what a madness is it,' says he, 'for men to throw themselves into certain destruction, to avoid uncertain danger!' I heartily wish there had been no such transgression; but, since there has, the best remedy for a past error is a timely repentance; wherefore it is my advice that we all join our utmost endeavours, that so, by our authority, Mary, the rightful and undoubted heiress of these kingdoms, may be proclaimed Queen."

The accession of that Princess to the throne without bloodshed may perhaps be reasonably ascribed to this well-timed harangue, and to the vigour and good judgment with which the Earl pursued the course which he had so warmly advised. The assembly, wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm, rose, and instantly accompanied him into the city, where, having obtained the attendance of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they proclaimed Mary with universal applause. This done, he took horse the same evening; rode into Suffolk, where she was then awaiting the issue of the contest, to communicate the tidings, and receive her commands; and, on the following day, personally arrested the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge, and led him, a

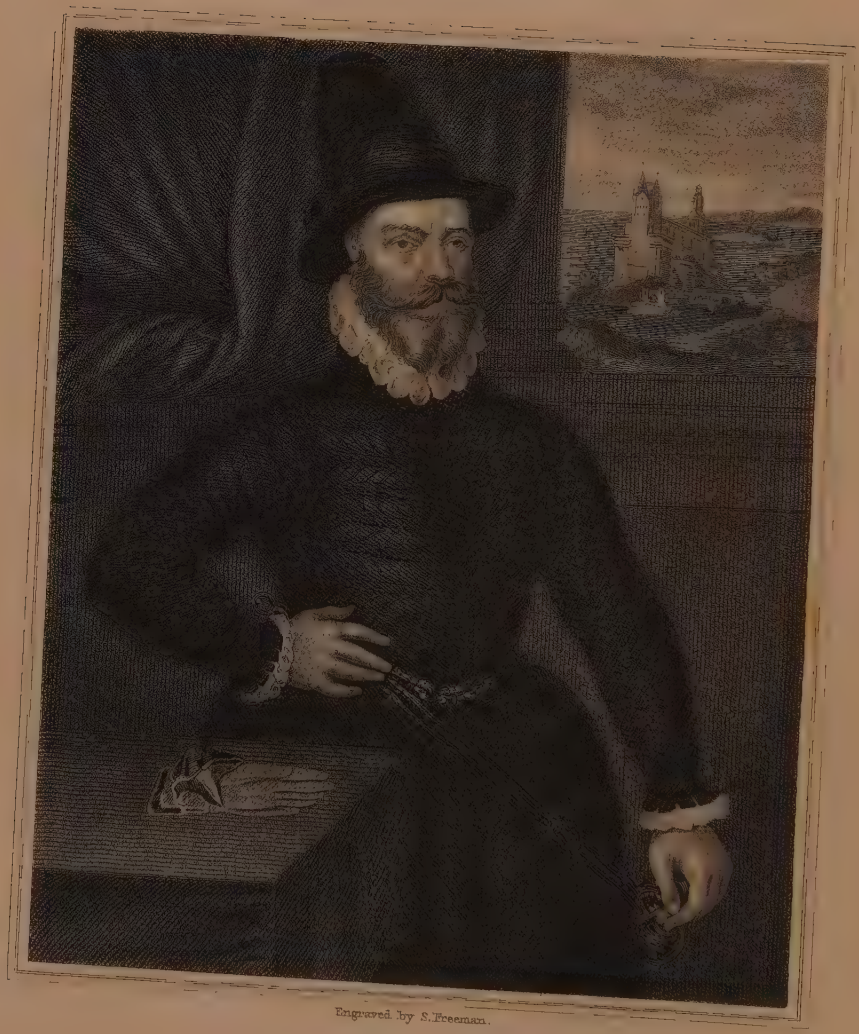
prisoner, towards the Tower of London. It is astonishing that such mighty measures should have been proposed and executed in the space of three days; but the whole was actually accomplished on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first of July, 1553.

Mary acknowledged these eminent services with becoming gratitude; distinguished him during her short reign by the most perfect confidence; and bestowed on him the offices of President of her Council, and Steward of her household. He was also elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford soon after her accession, a dignity which he of course resigned on the re-establishment of the Protestant Church by Elizabeth. He was not less favoured however by that Princess, who continued him in the post of Lord Steward, and complimented the high antiquity of his name and titles with the exalted appointments of High Constable, and High Steward, of England, at her coronation. He was even one among the few of her eminent subjects who flattered themselves, and had in all probability been flattered by her, with the hope of gaining her hand. It should seem indeed that he had explicitly offered himself, and been rejected; for Dugdale, quoting, I believe erroneously, Camden, says, "Having fed himself with hopes of obtaining Queen Elizabeth for his wife, and failing therein, after he had spent much upon these vain imaginations, his friends in Court failing him, he grew troubled in mind, and thereupon, to wear off the grief, got leave to travel." This happened in 1561. How long he now remained abroad does not appear, but he was in London in December 1565, when he again obtained a license to leave England, and went soon after into Italy, where he seems to have sojourned for four years. In his long absence from his own country he contracted a great fondness for foreign fashions, several of which, on his return, he introduced here, particularly the use of coaches, the first of which ever seen in England was kept by himself.

He seems to have been entirely disengaged from public affairs till the year 1569, when he was appointed one of the Commis-

sioners to inquire into the murder of Henry, King of Scotland, of which he avowed his opinion that Mary was innocent. His generous nature loathed the snares with which Elizabeth and her ministers surrounded that unhappy Princess, and, in a debate in the Privy Council on the suggestion of some new artifice against her, he had the boldness to say, in the Queen's presence, that "the wisdom of the former age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not, such shifts." That which was called Mary's party, now reckoned on his uniform support, but his sense of loyalty and justice was as pure as his frankness and impartiality, and when Leicester imparted to him the plan secretly formed for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, whose first lady was Arundel's daughter, he declared that he would oppose it to the utmost, unless it were previously sanctioned by Elizabeth's consent. His intercourse, however, with Mary's friends rendered him an object of suspicion, and in 1572 he suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, after which he sunk gradually in his mistress's favour, and at length wholly lost it by his determined opposition to her matrimonial treaty with the Duke of Anjou. From that time to his death he remained in retirement. "About the beginning of this year," says Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, 1580, "Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, rendered his soul to God, in whom was extinct the surname of this most noble family, which had flourished with great honour for three hundred years, and more, from the time of Richard Fitzalan, who, being descended from the Albeneys, ancient Earls of Arundel and Sussex in the reign of Edward the First, received the title of Earl, without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the Castle and Honour of Arundel." He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three children, all of whom he outlived; Henry, who died at Brussels, young, and unmarried; Joan, married to John, Lord Lumley; and Mary, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, in right of descent from whose son, Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards, the present Duke of

Norfolk, enjoys that remarkable Earldom, under the tenure so clearly stated by Camden in the foregoing passage, which I have inserted for the sake of elucidating a frequently disputed point. His second lady was Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, by whom he had no issue



Engraved by S. Freeman.

JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON.

OB. 1581.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL OF MORTON.

London, Published 1st Jan.y 1795 by Harding & Leppard, Pall Mall East.

JAMES DOUGLAS,

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

JAMES DOUGLAS, third Earl of Morton, having no male issue, obtained, on the twenty-second of April, 1543, a royal charter entailing his Earldom, and the chief of his estates, on the youngest of his three daughters, Elizabeth, and her husband, James, second son of Sir George Douglas, brother to Archibald Earl of Angus, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of David Douglas, of Pittendreath, and their heirs male. In right of that settlement James, on the death of his father-in-law in 1553, succeeded to the dignity. He will be the subject of this memoir.

The enmity of James the Fifth of Scotland to the great House of Angus, and its causes, are well known to all readers of the history of that country. In the year 1529, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George, were declared guilty of high treason: their great estates were forfeited, and they fled, with their families, to England, where they remained for fourteen years. Under these untoward circumstances, the education of James, then a boy, is said to have been almost wholly neglected. He was committed to the care of a trusty person of inferior rank; assumed the name of Innes; and, as he approached to manhood, was engaged to serve in the household of some person of quality in the capacity of steward, or chamberlain. The King's death, at

the close of the year 1542, withdrew him from this seclusion; he returned to Scotland with his relations, and having made the advantageous match which has been already mentioned, took on himself, according to the custom of the country, the designation of Master of Morton. His expectations at this period were peculiarly lofty. He was nearly related to royalty, both in his blood and by his marriage, and his capacious and haughty mind, however uncultivated, was amply impressed by the importance of his station.

His entrance into public life seemed to be marked by ill fortune, but chance, or his own dexterity, or both, turned it to his advantage. On the invasion of his country by the English in 1544, he garrisoned, and bravely defended, the castle of Dalkeith, one of the mansions of his family, and probably his place of residence; but in a similar endeavour in 1547, after the defeat of Musselborough, was compelled to surrender it, and was himself led by the victorious Earl of Hertford to England, where he remained a prisoner of war for several years. During that period it has been said that he formed intimacies, and made engagements, which at length bound him to forward the views of this country in Scotland, and that he was placed on the height to which he afterwards attained rather by the predominant influence of the English crown than by the power of his own family, or the extent of his talents. For a considerable time however after his return he lived in utter privacy, applying himself to those studies which had been denied to his youth, and to the improvement of his dilapidated estates; nor was it till 1559 that he emerged from his retirement, when he suddenly stood forward as a patron of the reformers, and enrolled himself among those persons of quality who then took on themselves the style of "Lords of the Congregation." In the following year the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, expired, and the Parliament, which provisionally assumed the government, dispatched him, together with the Earl of Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, on an embassy to Elizabeth, by whom they were most graciously received, and in

this visit to her court Morton's attachment to the English interest was probably confirmed.

On the arrival of Mary Stuart from France, in 1561, he was sworn of her Privy Council; and early in 1563, succeeded George, Earl of Huntly, in the office of Lord High Chancellor. He had gained no small degree of favour with Mary by his approbation of her match with Darnley, though it arose from motives of pride and interest, for Darnley was his relation: on the other hand, his connection with Murray, the leader of the reformers, who had been exiled for his fierce opposition to it, rendered him an object of her suspicion. The affections of Mary regarding him were thus balanced when the assassination of Rizzio in 1566 drew down on him her most deadly hatred. That enormity was the result of a regular treaty between the King and Morton, by which the former had agreed to defend the reformed religion, and to procure a pardon for Murray and his associates; and the Earl, on his part, to secure Henry's succession to the sovereign authority in the event of his surviving the Queen, and to contrive and superintend the murder of the unworthy favourite; and this he did, even in person, for he led the armed force which surrounded the palace during the perpetration of it. Rizzio was scarcely dead, when Murray, and the other exiled Lords, recalled, as has been just now observed, at the instance of Morton, arrived at Edinburgh. Mary, anxious to oppose them to the King's faction, received them as friends, and they, in an affectation of gratitude to Morton, besought her to promise him her pardon. She yielded to their request, and even admitted him to her presence, but was secretly inexorable, and on the very same day persuaded the weak and worthless Darnley to abandon the guilty instrument of his vengeance; to fly privately with her to Dunbar; and there to collect a military force, for the purpose of wresting the capital from Morton and his party, and of sacrificing them to her anger. Murray, tempted by her promises, as readily deserted his benefactor; and Morton, deprived of his great office, and presently after of his estates, once more took refuge in England.

His exile was short. Bothwell, now unhappily the object of Mary's partiality, sought the aid of all parties to the wild design he secretly entertained of sharing with her the Throne. The power, the talents, and the courage of Morton, and perhaps the readiness with which he had so lately undertaken a base and horrible assassination, combined to recommend him; and Bothwell, to whom Mary could then deny nothing, obtained his pardon with little difficulty; communicated to him the dreadful project which had been conceived to destroy the King, and solicited his advice and assistance in the execution of it. Morton hesitated, not from dictates of conscience but of caution, for his answer was that he would not engage in it unless he had an order to secure him under the Queen's sign manual; and, in the same spirit, he took care to be at the distance of twenty miles from Edinburgh when the deed was perpetrated there. It was followed by Mary's infamous marriage to Bothwell, and the consequent association of a considerable number of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility, for the protection of the young Prince, to possess himself of whose person he had left no means untried but those of force. Morton joined them with apparent zeal and alacrity; encouraged them to take up arms; and commanded one of the two battalions into which they divided a force hastily raised for the capture of Bothwell. It is needless to dwell here on events which form one of the most striking epochs in the history of Scotland. Mary, who was with Bothwell at Dunbar, surrounded by some troops, endeavoured to arrest the march of the confederates by proposals of treaty, and offers of pardon; but Morton, whom they had agreed should take the lead, answered that they came not against the Queen, but to demand the murderer of the King: not to seek pardon for their offences, but to grant pardon to such as might appear to deserve it. They advanced; Bothwell, doubtless through the connivance of Morton, was suffered to escape; and Mary, submitting to a hard but deserved necessity, surrendered her person on conditions which were no sooner made than broken, and was the next day led a prisoner by Morton to the castle of

Lochleven, and placed in the custody of the owner, William Douglas, his near relation.

A resignation of the Crown to her infant son was now extorted from her, and Murray was appointed to the Regency. Morton, who to eminent general capacity united that coolness and subtlety which the fury of the time rendered peculiarly necessary to a minister, became the chief adviser of his measures, and the most distinguished object of his favour. On the eleventh of November, 1567, the Regent restored him to the great office of Chancellor, and in the following month appointed him, on the forfeiture of Bothwell, hereditary High Admiral of Scotland, and Sheriff of Edinburgh. So universal was the confidence reposed in him by Murray, that, in the spring of the following year, when Mary escaped from Lochleven, and appeared at the head of an army, he was chosen to command the van of the Regent's troops in the battle of Langside, that unfortunate action which fatally compelled her to seek refuge in England. Morton presently followed her thither. He was the Regent's principal coadjutor in the celebrated conference on her case instituted by Elizabeth at York, and afterwards removed to Westminster, and maintained throughout the whole of that tedious scene of solemn deception a secret correspondence with Cecil, which, while it injured to the last degree the already distracted interests of Mary, contributed in no small degree to increase that dependance of Scotland on the will of Elizabeth which has been usually charged to the condescensions of Murray.

A year had scarcely passed after the close of this negotiation, for so it might be called, when Murray fell by the hand of an assassin. Great disorders arose: a powerful party appeared in arms for the Queen; and Morton, who had for the time placed himself at the head of the government, preferred to Elizabeth a welcome suit for her interposition. The King's party, as it was called, prevailed; and, under her auspices, the Earl of Lenox, father of Darnley, and consequently Mary's implacable enemy, was elected to the Regency. A treaty was now established for

the restoration of Mary, at least to her liberty, and Morton was placed at the head of the three commissioners named by the Regent. The professions of Elizabeth, at whose motion it was commenced, seemed at length to be sincere; but, on the meeting in London of the parties delegated by the three powers, Morton, with a warmth by no means consistent with his character, asserted in high terms the justice of limiting the power of Princes, and the inherent right of resistance in subjects; and Elizabeth, with whom it can scarcely be doubted that a proposed discussion on subjects in that age esteemed so monstrous had been previously concerted, testified the utmost indignation, and broke up the congress. Scotland, in the mean time, was distracted by the excesses of the contending factions. A Parliament chosen by the King's party was sitting at Stirling; another, elected by the Queen's, at Edinburgh. On the third of September, 1571, some of Mary's friends, led by the celebrated Kirkaldy of Grange, made a sudden attack on the former, and seized the persons of the Regent and his principal nobles. Morton, who had lately arrived from England, alone resisted. He defended his house with obstinate courage till the assailants forced him to surrender by setting fire to it. The sole important consequence of this furious enterprise was the death of Lenox, who was killed in the tumult by an unknown hand, for the party, which was very small, and had owed a momentary success merely to the unexpectedness of its attack, was presently dispersed by the soldiers of the garrison, and the people of the town. The Earls of Mar, Morton, and Argyll, presently appeared as candidates for the Regency, and the former gained the election.

Mar held that high office scarcely for one year. Morton, in whose hands the two preceding Regents had in fact lodged the whole direction of the State, still ruled it with unimpaired sway, and the weight of his talents, and the extent of his domains, rendered any endeavour to remove him at once inconvenient and dangerous. In the mean time, he avenged the secret vexation which the disappointment of his pretensions to the Regency had

excited by thwarting the measures of his successful rival, and opposing to his sincere efforts for the establishment of public tranquillity all the artifices of factious intrigue. Mar, a man of moderate intellect and delicate fibre, fell a sacrifice to the contest, and in November, 1572, Morton, chiefly through the powerful aid of Elizabeth, was chosen so succeed him without opposition. Sensible, from the effects of his aversion to peace while he was the second person in the State, how necessary it was to him in his new station, he now opened a treaty with the Queen's party. It was divided into two factions, the one headed by the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Huntly, the other by Maitland and Kirkaldy; the former, of great personal weight, and actuated by motives of cool policy; the latter, distinguished by superior talents and earnest zeal. He determined, while he offered terms to each, to treat separately with the first, and to sacrifice the second to his resentment, and the event amply proved the depth of his policy. The Duke and Huntly eagerly accepted his proposals, but Maitland and Kirkaldy, who possessed the Castle of Edinburgh, enraged at his duplicity, commenced open hostilities by firing on the city. Elizabeth, secretly a party to the plan, sent a considerable military force to Morton's aid in direct violation of a treaty which she had lately concluded with France, and the two gallant chiefs surrendered to her troops, and were perfidiously placed by her general in the hands of the Regent, who put Kirkaldy to an ignominious death, while Maitland, to avoid a similar fate, destroyed himself in his prison. By these events, which however terminated the civil war in Scotland, the interests of Mary in her own country were utterly overthrown.

The nation now expected a benign and prudent administration, and was disappointed. A fierce and tyrannical spirit, which he had long disguised by deep artifice, began to manifest itself in Morton. He was discovered to be avaricious and cruel. In the affairs of the church he enriched himself by simoniacal bargains, and impoverished even the inferior clergy by extorting from them portions of their incomes, under the pretence of forming regula-

tions to better their condition. He alienated from him the affections of the commonalty by innumerable fines exacted in the way of composition for real or supposed offences, which they were frequently compelled to confess by torture. The nobility became at length the objects of his oppression and treachery, and in that simple spirit of haughty fierceness which then distinguished them, carried their complaints of him to the King. James had not fully reached his twelfth year, but the period of royal majority was not yet clearly defined, and his mere name was a tower of strength. The Earls of Argyll and Athol, two of the most powerful among the Peers of Scotland, headed the cabal which was formed against the Regent. The King, at their request, signed letters calling a council of such nobles as they proposed to him, which determined that the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, should demand of Morton his resignation of the Regency, and he submitted even with apparent joy, and accompanied them for that purpose to Edinburgh, where James's acceptance of the sovereign authority was immediately proclaimed.

Morton retired to one of his seats, and affected to devote himself to the usual occupations of a rural life. This however was but refined dissimulation. He meditated incessantly the means of regaining his public importance, and the violence with which his adversaries pursued their vengeance against him after his retreat aided his views. Their popularity presently declined. The nation saw the King and the Government in the hands of Papists, and Morton was still held as the chief protector of the kirk. The ungenerous persecution of a fallen enemy, as he was deemed, was loudly censured; he discovered that he was yet master of a powerful party, and resolved to ground his hopes on the issue of one of those bold and irregular enterprises so frequent in the eventful history of his time. James, the care of whose person had been committed to the Earl of Mar, still remained in the nominal custody of that nobleman's heir, whose youth rendering him unfit to hold so important a trust, it was sustained provisionally by his uncle, Alexander Erskine, Morton's bitter

enemy. Morton now successfully insinuated to the young Earl and his mother that Alexander had formed a design to deprive his nephew of that distinguished honour, as well as of the government of Stirling Castle, in which the King resided; and Mar, in a transport of fury, aggravated by the suggestions of his ambitious mother, flew to Stirling; dismissed his uncle; and made himself master of the King's person, and of the strong garrison by which it was guarded. Morton presently followed him; took his place in the terrified Privy Council; and called a Parliament, in the King's name, to meet within the castle, which confirmed James's assumption of the government; ratified a general pardon which had been granted to Morton on his relinquishing the functions of Regent; and voted a pension to the Countess of Mar, who had in fact been the chief instrument of working this singular change.

Both parties now appeared in arms, and took the field with considerable strength, but an accommodation was made by the mediation of Elizabeth, to whose will Morton always implicitly submitted. Some of the most eminent of his opponents were admitted into the Privy Council; a convention of the Nobility was chosen, to which the two factions agreed to refer their differences; and an apparent reconciliation succeeded; but it was followed by a horrible circumstance, which, with too much probability, was ascribed to the vindictive spirit of Morton. To celebrate the accord which had been thus accomplished, he gave a banquet to the leaders of his late enemies, immediately after which the Earl of Athol, High Chancellor, a man of eminent abilities, and his constant opponent, was suddenly taken ill, and died within four days, with the strongest suspicions of poison: Morton however succeeded in turning this tragical event to his advantage, and purchased the powerful support of Argyll, by bestowing on him the elevated office of his late principal coadjutor. Having thus divided and weakened the potent band which had been arrayed against him, he poured the full tide of his vengeance on the great house of Hamilton, his calm but steady

adversaries, in a persecution which, as it is rather largely stated in a section of this work to which it more properly appertains, need not be here repeated.

Morton perhaps enjoyed at this time a more extensive power than had distinguished any former period of his long and eventful administration, yet utter ruin advanced towards him with hasty strides from an unseen and unexpected quarter. James, now in the fifteenth year of his age, exercised independently many of the functions of a Monarch, and more of the faculties of a man. The violent and thoughtless personal attachments which disgraced the whole of his long reign had naturally at this season their fullest scope, and two youthful favourites, of his own blood, Esme Stewart, of the House of Lenox, and James Stewart, a younger son of the Lord Ochiltree, on whom he conferred the highest dignities and the most splendid appointments, engrossed his affections, and directed his conduct. With the carelessness and confidence which suited their time of life, they shared the kindness of their master without jealousy, but, in the love of power which belongs to all ages, Morton's authority became odious to them, and they combined to overthrow it. His danger was presently evident, and he endeavoured to obviate it by firm and decisive measures. He denounced Stewart Lenox, who was in fact a Roman Catholic, to the clergy, as a secret agent from the Pope, and to the State, as an emissary from the Guises; but Lenox made a public abjuration of the Romish faith, and embraced the communion of the Church of Scotland. In the mean time Morton's ancient enemies took advantage of his embarrassment, and spread a report that he was preparing to seize the King, and to carry him into England. He sought, as usual, the protection of Elizabeth, who instructed her Ambassador to charge Lenox as a secret enemy to the peace of the two kingdoms, and to require his removal from the Privy Council, but that body, as well as the King, refused with coolness, not to say disdain, to listen to her instances. At the close of this contest, Stewart of Ochiltree, whose

comparative insignificance had rendered him a secondary object of apprehension, suddenly appeared in the council chamber where James was then sitting, and falling on his knees, accused Morton, who was present, of being accessory to the murder of the late King.

The general pardon which Morton had received, however particular in the enumeration of causes which might possibly render him liable to prosecution, had left that frightful subject untouched. It was well known that he was privy to the design, and his concealment of it has been already stated. He was arrested, and, as an earnest of the fate he might expect, was committed successively to the custody of two of his most determined enemies, Alexander Erskine, and Lenox, Governors of the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. Elizabeth interposed to save him with a zeal and earnestness which left no doubt of her obligations to his secret agency. She dispatched Randolph, one of her ablest diplomatists, to represent in the warmest colours, not only to the King and Council, but to a Convention of the Estates, the merits and services of Morton; to require the fullest and fairest inquiry into the true merits of the allegations urged against him; to insist again on the dismissal of Lenox; and even to offer, should force appear necessary to the accomplishment of those objects, any degree of aid, either of men or money, which might be deemed requisite to that end. To these persuasions she added a silent menace of no small weight, by sending an army to the borders.

James however, indeed Scotland, remained equally unmoved by her remonstrances or her preparations. Morton was brought to trial on the first of June, 1581, and found guilty of being, to use the language of the Scottish law, art and part in Darnley's murder. The records of the Court of Justiciary appertaining to that period are not extant, and historical writers, biassed by party spirit, differ in their reports of the proceedings against him; but thus much is certain, that after his sentence had been passed, he distinctly owned Bothwell's disclosure to him of the intended assassination. On the following day he was led to execution; his

enemy, Stewart of Ochiltree, commanding in person the soldiers who guarded the scaffold, a shocking instance of the barbarous rudeness of the time. He confessed there that it was his design to have sent James into England, but alleged that the resolution was dictated by an opinion that it would be proper that the King should in his youth reside at intervals among a people over whom he was one day to reign; and that he considered it to be necessary towards securing the succession to the Crown of that country. He suffered death with great firmness, and a decent shew of piety and resignation. Morton left no issue.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX.

OB. 1583.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR ANTONIO MORE, IN THE POSSESSION OF

WILLIAM RADCLYFFE, ESQ.

THOMAS RADCLYFFE,

EARL OF SUSSEX.

THE circumstances, important as they were, of the life of this very great and good man, have been suffered till this day to lie scattered on the page of history; and in the number, which is not inconsiderable, of biographical omissions, no one has appeared to me so remarkable. Neither has his portrait (with one or two exceptions, so mean as scarcely to challenge recollection,) been delivered to us by the graver. In a former work I gave a very slight sketch of his character, merely in a note, for the re-publication here of a few sentences from which perhaps no apology may be necessary. "This great man's conduct united all the splendid qualities of those eminent persons who jointly rendered Elizabeth's court an object of admiration to Europe and was perfectly free from their faults. Wise and loyal as Burghley, without his blind attachment to the monarch; vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining his cunning; magnificent as Leicester, but incapable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with the piety of a primitive Christian; he seemed above the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades of character which make men the heroes of history." Such was the man whose story has never yet been collectively imparted to the world.

He was born in 1526, the eldest son of Henry, second Earl of Sussex of the Radclyffes, by his first lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. He was bred a states-

man from his early youth, and was not only sent Ambassador by Queen Mary to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and then to his son, Philip the Fourth of Spain, to treat of her projected marriage to the latter Prince, but filled for a time the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland, before he had reached his thirtieth year. Shortly after his father's death, which happened in 1556, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Royal Forests south of Trent, and in 1557, being then a Knight of the Garter, held the place of Captain of the Pensioners, and had a renewal of his commission as Lord Deputy. Elizabeth also named him to that office immediately after she had mounted the throne; and in 1561 constituted him her Lieutenant and Governor General in Ireland. In 1566 he was sent to Germany, to invest the Emperor Maximilian the second with the Order of the Garter, and returned to Vienna in the following year, commissioned to treat of a marriage between that Prince's brother, the Archduke Charles, and Elizabeth. In 1569 he was appointed President of the North, a situation in those times always of the highest trust and importance, and at that peculiar juncture rendered infinitely difficult by the singular state of her affairs with Scotland, and the turbulent spirit of the border counties. Those circumstances led him now for the first time to assume a military character: he placed himself at the head of the troops in that quarter, and, while he wisely administered the civil affairs of his government by his orders from the camp, commanded with equal bravery and skill in a number of those predatory incursions to which the border warfare was then confined. While he was employed in these services he was sworn of the Privy Council.

He returned, after two years' absence, to the melancholy duty of sitting in judgment with his peers, on Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was not only his kinsman, but his most dear friend, and whose ruin might be traced, in a great measure, to his neglect of the Earl's advice. Of Sussex's suffrage on that occasion we are ignorant, but I believe the twenty-five Lords by whom the Duke was tried were unanimous in their verdict. Be this as it may,

the unfortunate Norfolk left a dying testimony of his affection to a judge whom he knew to be impartial. His last request was that his best George, Chain, and Garter, might be given to his Lord of Sussex. 1572, having become infirm, though scarcely beyond the prime of life, he retired from severer duties to the office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, which he held till his death. His last public service was in the treaty of 1582 with the commissioners sent from Paris, to negociate the long agitated treaty of marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou.

It may not be too much to say that in the list of her counsellors she trusted this nobleman above all others; certain it is that no one among them so entirely deserved her confidence. Both these opinions are justified by the voice of history, and proved by his own letters, many of which I am proud of having formerly been the instrument of first producing to the world. He was probably in the strictest sense of the phrase, her privy counsellor, and therefore little of his political story has been within the reach of the historian. Between him and Leicester the most pure hatred subsisted, and Elizabeth, who there is strong reason to suspect dreaded the resentment of the latter rather from private than public motives, perhaps durst not consult his great enemy but in secret. Sussex in his confidential letters to her, addressed her with the freedom, as well as the kindness, of a friend—writing to her, at great length, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1578, on the question of the French marriage, which was then first agitated, he uses these expressions—"You shall, by the helpe of your husband, be habell to compell the K. of Spayne to take reasonabell condytyons of his subjects in the Lowe Contryes, and the Stats to take reasonabell condytyons of ther K. so as he may have that which before God and man dothe justely belong to him, and they may enjoye ther lybertyes, fredomes, and all other thynges that is feete for ther quyett and suertye, in bodyes, goods, conscyences, and lyves; wherby you shall avoyde grete effusyon of Crystyen blodd, and shall have the honor and reward, dew in this wordell and by God, to so gracyouse, godly, and Crystyen

actyons: and herewith, for the more suerty of all persones and mattrs, yourselfe maye have in your owne hands some marytyme porte, to be by you kepte, at the charge of the K. of Spayne; and your husband maye have some frontyer townes in lyke sorte; and bothe to be contynued for such a nomber of yeres as may bryng a settelyng of suerty to all respects; by which meanes you shall also be delyvered from perrells, at home and abrode, that maye growe from the K. of Spayne. And, yf you lyke not of this corse in dealyng for the Lowe Contryes, you may joyne with your husband, and so, betwene you, attempte to possesse the hole Lowe Contryes, and drawe the same to the Crowne of England, yf you have eny chyld by him; or, yf you have none, to devyde them betwene the realmes of England and Fraunce, as shall be mettest for ether; but, to be playne with your Majesté, I do not thynk this corse to be so juste, so godly, so honorabell, nor, when it is loked into the bottome, so suer for you and your State as the other, although at the first syght it do perhaps carrye in shewe some plausybylyté, &c."

From this instance of the manner of his private correspondence, we will turn to an example of the more studied style which he used in his quality of an Ambassador. In a letter from Vienna of the eighteenth of October, 1567, he thus describes the Archduke Charles—"His Highnes is of person higher suerly a good deale then my L. Marques: his heare of heade and bearde of a lighte aborne: his face well proportioned, amiable, and of a very good compleccon, without shewe of readnesse or over paleness; his countenance and speche cherefull, very curteowse, and not withowte some state: his body wellshaped, withowte deformitie or blemishe: his hands very good and fayer: his leggs cleane, well proporcioned, and of sufficiant bignes for his stature: his fote as good as may be: so as, upon my dutie to your Majesté, I find not one deformitie, mis-shape, or any thynge to be noted worthy mislikinge, in his hole person; but, contrarywise, I find his hole shape to be good, worthy comendacyon and likynge in all respects, and such as is rarely to be founde in such a Prince,

His Highnes, besids his naturall language of Duche, speaketh very well Spanish and Italien, and as I heare, Latine. His dealyngs with me be very wise; his conversacyon such as moche contenteth me; and, as I heare, none retorneth discontented from his company. He is greatly beloved here of all men. The chefest gallants of these parts be his men, and follow his Corte: the moste of them have travelled other contreis, speake many languags, and behave themselfs therafter; and truly we can not be so gladde there to have him come to us, as they wilbe sadde here to have him go from them. He is reported to be wise, liberall, valeante, and of greate courage, which in the last warres he well showed in defending all his contreis free from the Turk, with his owne force onlye, and gevinge them diverse overthrowes when they attempted any thinge against his rules; and he is universally (which I most weye) noted to be of suche vertue as he was never spotted or touched with any notable vice or cryme, which is moche of a Prynce of his yeares, indued with such qualities. He deliteth moche in huntinge, ridinge, hawkinge, exercise of feats of armes, and hearinge of musicke, wherof he hathe very good. He hath, as I heare, some understandinge in astronomy and cosmography, and taketh pleasure in clocks that sett forthe the cowrse of the planetts. He hath for his porcyon," &c. &c.

We have here the pen of an historian in the hand of a statesman: a pure, simple, and exalted, method of composition which arose out of the nature of the writer, and which differed as widely from the artificial and turgid quaintness which was the fashion of his time as did the character of his own mind and heart from those of his compeers. I trust I shall be excused for adding one more short extract, as it is so highly illustrative of the qualities of both, from a letter, written in a moment of anger, to Sir William Cecil, on the twenty-third of January, 1569. After stating the ground of his complaint, which related to some judicial matters in his office of President of the North, he proceeds—"I was first a Lieutenante: I was after little better then a Marshall: (I had then nothing left to me but to direct hanging

matters; in the meane tyme all was disposed that was within my comission) and nowe I am offered to be made a shrief's bayly, to deliver over possessions. Blame me not, good Mr. Secretarie, though my pen utter sumwhat of that swell in my stomake, for I see I am but kepte for a brome, and when I have done my office to be throwen owt of the dore. I am the first nobelman hathe ben thus used. Trewe service deserveth honor and credite, and not reproche and open defaming: but, seeing the one is ever delyvered to me in stede of the other, I must leave to serve, or lose my honor; which, being continewed so long in my howse, I wolde be lothe shoolde take blemishe with me. These matters I knowe procede not from lacke of good and honorabell meaning in the Q. Majestie towards me, nor from lacke of dewté and trewthe in me towards her, which grevethe me the more; and therfore, seing I shalbe still a camelyon, and yelde no other shewe then as it shall please others to give the couller, I will content myself to live a private lyfe. God send her Majesté others that mean as well as I have done."

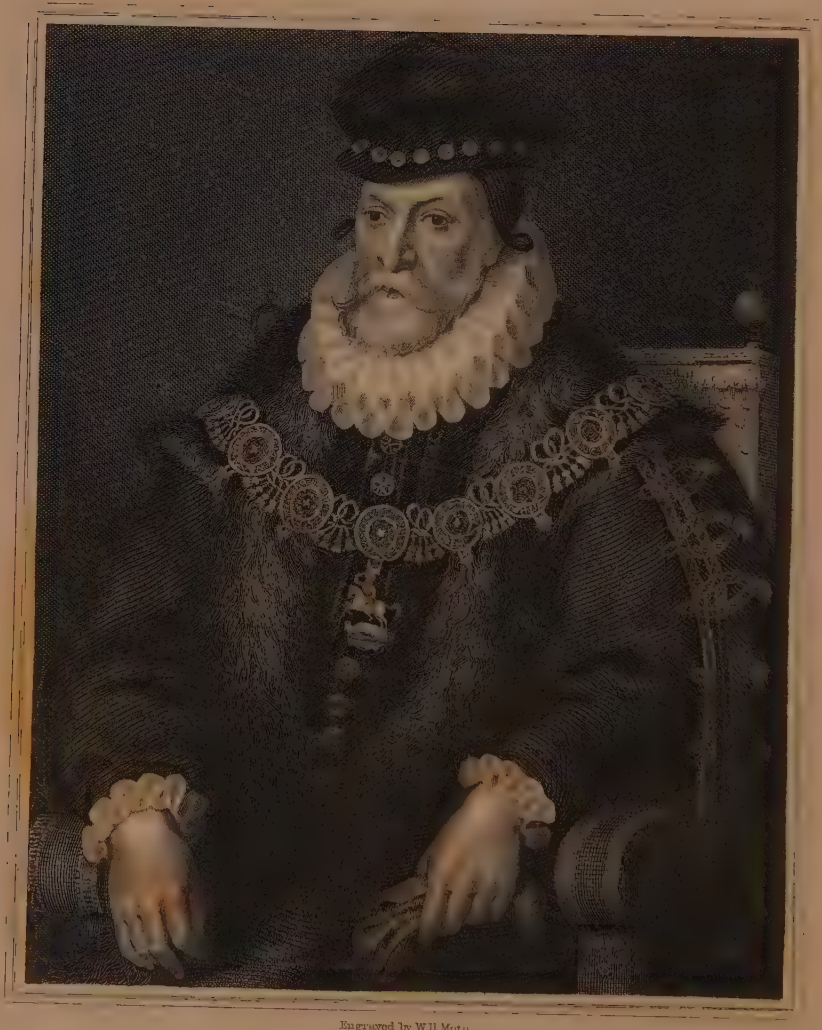
Such was his variety of talent, and of cultivation, at a period when the closest application of the dry and obscure subtleties of logic to theological or political controversy was considered as the highest proof of mental accomplishment. For his integrity, his loyalty, and his exalted sense of honour, it might be sufficient to say that he was the only one of Elizabeth's servants, rarely distinguished as most of them were, on whom the slightest suspicion never fell. His conduct in his government of Ireland was equally sagacious, resolute and humane. "By his prudence," says Fuller, "he caused that actual rebellion brake not out there, and no wonder if in his time it rained not war there, seeing his diligence dispersed the clouds before they could gather together." Even his foreign negociations seem to have been conducted in that spirit of candour which never left him, for in his many diplomatic despatches which I have perused, I never discovered an instance of active deception; yet his conduct in that character was never taxed with weakness or imprudence. His bitter enmity to the favourite,

Leicester, in common with the rest of his sentiments, was open and professed. It was a war of wisdom against cunning; of truth against hypocrisy; of virtue against guilt. "A constant court faction," says Fuller again, "was maintained between him and Robert Earl of Leicester, so that the Sussexians and Leicesterians divided the court, whilst the Cecilians, as neuters, did look upon them. Sussex was the honester man, and greater soldier; Leicester the more facete courtier, and deep politician, not for the general good, but his particular profit. Great was the animosity betwixt them, and what in vain the Queen endeavoured death performed, taking this Earl" (Sussex) "away, and so the competition was at an end." Camden too, who seems to suppose that this discord originated in their vehement opposition of opinion on the treaty of marriage with the Archduke, informs us that "they divided the court into parties and factions; and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, carried great retinues of servants, with swords and bucklers, with iron pikes pointing out at the bosses, according to the then mode, as if they resolved to have a trial of skill for it." Yet Sussex's indignation could not abate his sense of justice. When Elizabeth, in a paroxysm of jealousy on the sudden discovery of Leicester's marriage to the Countess of Essex, would have committed him to the Tower, Sussex, "out of a solid judgment, and the innate generosity of his own mind," as Camden well says, dissuaded her from it, "being of opinion that no man was to be troubled for lawful marriage, which amongst all men had ever been held in honour and esteem."

He was one of the very few of Elizabeth's servants who experienced any substantial proofs of her gratitude. She granted to him in 1573 several valuable manors and estates in Essex, particularly the noble palace and park of Newhall in the parish of Boreham, which Henry the Eighth, whose favourite residence it was, had enlarged to a vast extent, and to which he had given the name of Beaulieu. There Sussex lived in the utmost profusion even of feudal magnificence and hospitality. The singular splendour of the place suited the grandeur of his spirit, and he

was anxious to attach it firmly to his family; yet it was sold by his nephew even as early as the year 1620 to Villiers Duke of Buckingham. He resided occasionally too at his mansion of Woodham Walter, and Attleburgh, in Norfolk, and at his manor of Bermondsey, where he died on the ninth of June, 1583. He was buried at Boreham, and we find in his will a curious proof of the great expense which was then usually bestowed on the funerals of the great. He says "I desire that my body shall be by myne executors, decently and comely, without unnecessary pomp or charges, but only having respect to my dignity and state, buried in the parish church of Boreham, in Essex, where I will that my funerals shall be performed and kept, provided always, and my will is, that myne executors shall not dispend in and about my funerall obsequies more than fifteen hundredth pounds;" a sum at least equal to ten thousand pounds in our time, but then prescribed as for a private funeral, and in the certainty that his executors would have far exceeded it, had he not thus limited them.

This great Earl was twice married, first to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, by whom he had two sons, Henry, and Robert, both of whom died young. By his second, Frances, daughter of Sir William, sister of Sir Henry, and aunt of Sir Philip Sidney, the foundress by her will of Sidney College in Cambridge, he had no issue. His next brother, Henry, therefore succeeded to his honours and estates.



Engraved by W.H.Mote

EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN.

OB.1584.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KETEL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Decr. 1, 1826, by J. Harding, & J. Lepard, Pall Mall, East.

EDWARD CLINTON,

EARL OF LINCOLN.

The family of this nobleman had enjoyed the dignity of the Peerage nearly for three hundred years, yet, with the exception of its common ancestor, Geoffery de Clinton, whom we find styled Lord Chamberlain, Treasurer to the King, and Justice of England, under Henry the First, none of his progenitors appear to have held any public situations, beyond such municipal offices as are usually filled by owners of large estates in their respective provinces. He was the only son of Thomas, eighth Lord Clinton, by Mary, a natural daughter of Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter; and it is probable that no small share of the favour in which that gentleman was held by Henry the Eighth, devolved on this young nobleman through that marriage.

He was born in the year 1512, and at the death of his father, which occurred on the seventh of August, 1517, fell in wardship to the Crown. Educated in the Court, his youth was passed in those magnificent and romantic amusements which distinguished the commencement of Henry's reign; nor was it till 1544, that he appeared in any public character. In that year he attended the Earl of Hertford, and Dudley, Lord Lisle, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, in their expedition to Scotland, and is said then to have engaged in the naval service in consequence of his intimacy with the latter, who commanded the English fleet. He was knighted at Leith by Hertford, who commanded in chief, and then embarked with the admiral, Lisle, who, having scoured the

coast of Scotland, landed at Boulogne, which was at that time besieged by the King in person.

At the commencement of the following reign he was appointed admiral of the fleet which aided the Protector's great irruption into Scotland; and, owing to a singular circumstance, is said to have had a considerable share in the victory of Musselborough, without quitting his ships; for the van of the English army having changed its position, the Scots imagined that it was flying to the fleet, and so forsook the high ground on which they had been advantageously posted, and, following the English to the shore, were received with a furious discharge of cannon, which threw them into irrecoverable disorder. Soon after this period Lord Clinton was constituted Governor of Boulogne, and, on his return from thence, after the peace of 1550, was appointed of the King's Privy Chamber; Lord Admiral of England for life; and a Knight of the Garter. To these distinctions were added grants of estates to a very considerable amount. In 1551 he represented his royal master at Paris, as godfather to the third son of France, afterwards Henry the Third. He negotiated at the same time the fruitless treaty of marriage intended between Edward the Sixth, and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry the Second of France, and brought home with him the instrument of its ratification.

Edward died soon after the conclusion of this embassy, and Lord Clinton, having recommended himself to the favour of that Prince's successor by his early expression of attachment to her title to the Crown, was sent in 1554, together with others of the loyal nobility, at the head of a military force, against Sir Thomas Wyat. In the autumn of the next year he carried the Order of the Garter to Emanuel, Duke of Savoy; and in 1557 had a principal command in the English army at the siege of St. Quintin. On the thirteenth of February, 1558, O. S., his patent of Lord Admiral was renewed, and on the twelfth of April following, he was appointed Commander-in-chief, both by sea and land, of the forces then sent against France and Scotland. Elizabeth continued him in the post of Admiral; chose him of her Privy

Council; appointed him a Commissioner to examine Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots: and joined him to Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in the command of the army sent in 1569 against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He was one of the twenty-five Peers, who, in January, 1572, N.S., sat in judgment on Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. On the fourth of the succeeding May, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lincoln, and was immediately after dispatched to Paris, with a splendid train of nobility and gentry, to attend the ratification of the treaty of Blois by Charles the Ninth.

The remainder of his life presents nothing worthy of note, for we find only that he was occasionally employed in the mere formalities of that tedious treaty of marriage with Francis, Duke of Anjou, Elizabeth's motives for the commencement and dissolution of which, were ever equally unknown, even to those of her ministers whom she most trusted. It should seem indeed that there was little historically eminent in this nobleman's character: that he was valued by the monarchs whom he served rather for his probity and his fidelity than for his talents, which being probably of a sort and measure best adapted to the conduct of warlike affairs, afforded little worth remembrance during the long season of public tranquillity which detached him from such services. Some imperfect judgment of the powers of his mind may be formed from the two following letters to Lord Burghley, written at different periods of his life, and now first published, from the Harleian collection: nor indeed are they otherwise destitute of interest, particularly the second, written even while the detestable Prince, of whose oath of perpetual amity with Elizabeth it chiefly treats, was secretly planning the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which were perpetrated within very few weeks after the date of his solemn perjury, and of Lincoln's dispatch.

"Aftar my most harty comẽdacyons unto your good Lordship, albeit you shall by the lettars from my LL. of the Cownsell understand the good newis y^{t} ar com toching the peace betwen the Quene's Ma^{te} and the French toching the mattars of

Skotland, yet I take occasyon to trowble your L. w^th^ this my lettar y^t^ it may apeare I am not slothfull in wryting to yow. This peace is gretely to the Quene's honour, and this reame. My Lord of Norfolk is gon to Lyth, to see the demolyshing of the same. The newis doth styll contynew of the comyng of the yong King of Swevya, who bringeth xxx shyps of war, and lx others to carre his trayne and vytells. Yesterday the Kyng of Spayne's Ambassadors were here, who reseyved knolayg of her Hynes of the peace concludyd in Skotland. The tewmolts in France do contynew. Monsur de Glassyon told me yesterday y^t^ the Duke of Savoy was in gret danger, besyde his owne towne off Nyece, to a byn taken by the Torks, bot skaped naroly, his horse being sore hort under hym. xii of his prynsepall noble men and gentylmen are by the Torks takyn and carreid away. The Kyng of Spayne's los at Geriby is confermyd by other lettars. I have lernyd for sarten y^t^ the French preparasyons are small to the see. It is brewtyd here y^t^ the Dewk de Namors doth com w^th^ a gret company of Noble men to vyzet the Quene's Ma^te^ from the French Kyng. Many lettars ar going owt from the Quene to the nobylyty of this reame to com to the Corte agen the coming of this yong Kyng of Swevya. I trust we shall be in quyat w^th^ France untyll they have ther owne cowntrey in a good ordar and subjectyon, but, when tyme shall sarve them, ther wylbe no gret trost to them, as I juge this peace hath ben parfors, for they were dryven to take it in thys sort, or els have lost all ther pypyll in Lyth, being not able to socor them. My Lord of Penbrok doth somwat amend of his syknes, God be thankyd, and is gon yesterday from the Corte to London, and so to Hynden. When othar mattars shall com worthe wrytyng I wyll advertes your L. From the Corte, the xiiith of July, 1560.

Your L'. assured to com̃and,

E. Clynton."

" My Lord,

I have advartized your L. from tyme to tyme of my enterteynment synce my comynge from Bullyn, whiche, albeit

ther was no ordar taken for provisions of the Kyng's chargis for me on the waye hyther, yet I assure you I was vearie honorablie used and enterteyned, as I have afore wrytten; and as I p̃ceive, they here weare utterlie withowt knowledge that there was suche ordar taken by the Quene's Ma^tie^ for the receyvinge of Monsieur Momerancie in England, whereof there hathe ben great mislykinge taken against suche as showld have gyven knowledge hyther. But synce my comyng to Parris ther hathe ben as greate enterteynement and honor done me, in respecte of her Majestie, as I ever have seene, and all at the Kyng's chargis.

On Fridaye last I was sent for to come to Madryll to the Kyng. The Prince Dolphyn, w^th^ many noble men, wher'of the Marshall Cossie, being one, dyd accompany me to the Court, wheare at my comyng the Kyng dyd welcom me vearie honorablie, his brethren, and a great assemblie of noble men being wyth hym. That daie the Kyng cawsed me, and the Quene's Ma^t's^ Imbassadors, to dyne w^th^ him and his brethren. We weare aftar dynar browght to the Quene, his wyfe, by the Duke Dalanson, at whiche tyme the Quene mother was sicke, and so deferred our comynge to her for that daye. We weare lodged in the Kynge's howse theare, and hadd greate enterteynement, wheare we remained Frydaie and Satterdaie, in which tyme the Kynge used suche familier enterteynemente as he tooke me wythe hym after his supper to walke in his parke, and he played at the Tennys, in the fyldes at Randon, with the noble men, and caried me late to his pryvie chamber, and did talke with me vearie pryvatlye. He had som pastyme showed hym by Italian players, whiche I was at w^th^ hym. On Satterdaie he towlde me his mother was not vearie well, but som thinge amended, and yet he wolde have me see her, and so hymself browght me to her, and her Majestie's Imbassadors, she being in her bedd, wheare I dyd her Ma^t's^ comendacions, and delyvered her Ma^t's^ letters. The next daye, beinge Sondaie, appoynted for the oathe to be taken at a parishe churche in Parris, the Kynge, wythe his twoo brethren, entred in a coache, and tooke me in the said coache w^th^ theym, and so passed throwghe a great part of

Parris to the Lovar, wher he dyned, and greate and sumptuous preparacion for hym, and a greate assemblie of noble men and gentlemen; and theare I, wythe her Ma$^{t's}$ Imbassadoures, dyned wythe the Kynge and his brethren.

Aftar dynar, at Evensonge tyme, the Kynge went to the aforesaid churche, and I have not seene a greater assemblie of people of all sortes, so that it was longe er the Kynge cowlde passe the prease, for all that his offycers cowlde commaunde to make place. At his comynge to the said churche, w^{ch} was rytchlie furnished, and hanged wythe arras, and a place in the quyer dressed for the Kynge and the noble men, aftar we hadd browght hym to the quyer, and that he was sett, we retyred o^{r}selves to a chappell on the syde of the said churche appoynted for us, where we remayned, accompanied wythe the Duke of Bolleyn, and Monsieur de Lansack, and others, untyll the Kynge had hard his evensong, and then we weare sent for by the Prynce Dolphyn to the Kynge, and theare, at the highe aulter, he tooke his oathe; and afore he dyd sweare he towld me openlie that ther was nothing that ever contented hym better than this league betwene the Quene, his good systar, and hym, being so noble and worthie a Pryncys as she ys; and, as he dyd publykelye take the oathe, accordyng to the ordar in suche cases, so dyd he p̃nounce that he dyd yt from his harte, as the thynge that he wolde trewlye and justlye obsarve and keepe durynge his lyfe, wythe suche a showe of a contentacyon as I have not seene the lyke. I noted his speache to me before dyner, spoken afore his brethren, and the greatest part of the Prynces and noble men theare, w^{ch} was that the ordar and custome hathe ben alwaies in Fraunce that when anie Kynge or Quene dyed, or other greate estate of their Howse, as nowe the Quene of Navare, they dyd mourne in theyr apparell, and dyd weare y^{t} for one monthe at the leaste; but he, haveing recyved suche cawse to rejoyce at this amitie, whearto he wold swear that daye, and for the greate honor he dyd beare to the Quene's Ma^{tie}, his good systar, he wolde weare his apparell accordynge to the contentmente of his mynde, and therfore he

dyd put off all mourning, and indede he and his brethren weare rytchelie apparelled.

The Kynge apon Sondaie last towlde me that bothe his brethren, for the greate honor they beare to her Ma^tie dyd desier to have me, and bothe her Ma^t's Imbassadoures, and the noble men and gentlemen in my companye, to dyne w^th them uppon Tewsdaie and Wensdaie next followynge: so that uppon Tewsdaie we dyned wyth Monsieur, who sent for us twoo of the brethren of Monsieur de Momeransie, and Lansack, and Larchaunt, and dyvars others. And at owre comynge, the Duke and his brother dyd mete us wythout his greate chamber, accompenied wythe the Duke Monpansier, and his son Prynce Dolphyn, and the Duks de Nevers and Bullyen, and Domall, and Guyse, and the Marshall de Cossie, and Danvyle, who all dyned w^th hym. At after dynar Mons^r and his brother browght us to a chambre wheare was vearie many sorts of exelent musicke; and after that he hadd us to another large chambre, wheare there was an Italian playe, and dyvars vautars and leapers of dyvars sortes, vearie exelent; and thus that daie was spent. I doo heare that the Duke Dalanson doothe this daie make greate preparacion to feast us, wherof I wyll advartize you by my next lettars. And thus I take my leave of yo^r good L. wyshinge yo^r L. long lief, in much honor.

From the Lovar in Parris, this Wensdaie, in the morrnyng, beyng the xviiith of June, 1572.

Yo^r L.' assured friend to com̃aund,

E. Lyncoln."

"Her hathe ben hetherto no worde spokyn to me, ether by the Kynge or his mother, toochynge the Quene of Skotts, or the Duke Dalanson, Seurly, my Lord, here is shoid gret contentasyon of this amyté."

The Earl of Lincoln died on the nineteenth of January, 1584, O.S., and lies buried in St. George's Chapel, in Windsor Castle, under a superb monument of alabaster and porphyry, which was

some years since repaired, with laudable care and nicety, by the direction of his noble descendant, the late Duke of Newcastle. He was thrice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow to Gilbert, Lord Talboys. By this lady, who had formerly admitted the caresses of Henry the Eighth, he had three daughters; Bridget, married to Robert Dymock, of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire; Catherine, to William, Lord Borough; and Margaret, to Charles, Lord Willoughby of Parham. By his second wife, Ursula, daughter of Edward, Lord Stourton, he had three sons; Henry his successor; Edward; and Thomas; and two daughters; Anne, wife of William Ayscough, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire; and Frances, of Giles Bruges, Lord Chandos. He married, thirdly, Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, who died without issue.

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